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REVIEW ARTICLES

TOWARD A HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE[1]

GEORGE G. GRABOWICZ

Dmytro Čyževs'kyj always regretted that his groundbreaking work in Slavic Geistesgeschichte *found few challengers. When he was preparing a second edition of his monograph* Hegel in Russland *thirty years after its first appearance, he said that the only works of any importance that he could incorporate were his own. As a Hegelian, Čyževs'kyj believed that progress in scholarship came through a dialectical process, and he hoped that someday a younger colleague would provide the antithesis to his work. He was pleased to learn from us that Professor Grabowicz was preparing to question his conception of Ukrainian literary history, and he looked forward to formulating a reply of his own. Sadly, he died before the present study was completed. The important place that Čyževs'kyj's* History *occupies in Ukrainian literary scholarship explains the scope of this critique. It is published in the spirit of that very scholarship which Dmytro Čyževs'kyj believed in and valued.*

The Editors

I. PREHISTORY

1. As a rule, scholarly histories of literature reflect both the national, traditional historiography and the general, "international" state of the discipline. Often they are also the best indicator of the current state of literary scholarship, for they define the parameters of the historical material to be investigated and illustrate the theory, methods, and the critical sophistication that can be brought to bear on the subject. Judging by this, our general impression that all is not well with Soviet Ukrainian literary scholarship must be given melancholy substantiation. The various Soviet histories of Ukrainian literature,

[1] Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*, trans. by Dolly Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline, and Ulana Petyk, ed. and with a foreword by George S. N. Luckyj (Ukrainian Academic Press, Littleton, Colo., 1975).

inevitably authored by committee, mirror the historical literary process with peculiar distortion.[2] While bending the overall contours and filtering out disharmonious facts, they mostly treat what they do see with the dull tools of vulgarized theory and a dogmatic, ideological perspective. The official histories, however, do not exhaust the field. The very existence of institutions inevitably produces literary scholarship, even historico-literary scholarship, that is serious and important —if less visible and influential.

2. For all the shadows on the Soviet scene, in the West the state of scholarship in the history of Ukrainian literature has been much worse, in fact, virtually non-existent. Perhaps the worst situation relates to studies written in English, which is made all the more striking when juxtaposed with the English language histories of Polish or Russian literature. For counterparts to a Manfred Kridl, a Czesław Miłosz, or a D. S. Mirsky, the English-speaking reader interested in Ukrainian literature could only turn to an A. P. Coleman or a Clarence Manning. The comparison is not altogether fair, for the works in question were hardly conceived as histories. Coleman's *Brief Survey of Ukrainian Literature*,[3] or "brief sketch of the checkered history of the literature of Ukraine," as he is pleased to style it in the conclusion, is basically the text of an anecdotal talk delivered before a Columbia University Ukrainian club. The forte of Manning's somewhat longer *Ukrainian Literature: Studies of the Leading Authors* is pathos and sympathy for the downtrodden and freedom-loving "Irish of the Slavonic world" (as Watson Kirkconnell chooses to call the Ukrainians in his "Foreword" to this study).[4] Both works are inadequate not so much because of their sketchiness, but because in matters of Ukrainian literature their authors were amateurs.

A recent, similarly popularizing English survey of Ukrainian literature is Jevhen Šabliovs'kyj's *Ukrainian Literature Through the Ages*,[5] an adequate example of Socialist Realist vulgarity and mendacity.

[2] The emphasis of the definitive eight- (actually nine-) volume *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* (Kiev, 1967-71) is indicative of this. It devotes one volume to the literature of the eleventh to the mid-eighteenth century, one to the period of the mid-eighteenth century to the 1830s, four to the remainder of the nineteenth century and the years leading up to the Bolshevik Revolution, and three to Soviet literature (i.e., a volume for every fifteen- to eighteen-year interval).

[3] Arthur Prudden Coleman, *Brief Survey of Ukrainian Literature* (New York, 1936).

[4] Clarence A. Manning, *Ukrainian Literature: Studies of the Leading Authors* (Jersey City, 1944).

[5] Yevhen Shabliovsky, *Ukrainian Literature Through the Ages* (Kiev, 1970).

3. Besides these few, uninspired surveys there have been two studies of specific periods in Ukrainian literature: Professor George S. N. Luckyj's *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1933*, and his more recent *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko*.[6] Both are very useful—and not only to the beginning student.

4. But the publication of *A History of Ukrainian Literature*, the first serious attempt at such a history to appear in English, clearly marks a new beginning, and, one would hope, a major step toward the long overdue establishment of Ukrainian literary scholarship in the West. As such, it merits our closest attention. Given Čyževs'kyj's high reputation, we can justifiably expect to find it to be, in Professor Luckyj's words, "a scholarly account of the entire, complex history of the literature, which could serve as a reference guide for further study and at the same time offer a critical interpretation of the development of the literature from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries" (ix).[7]

II. THE TRANSLATION

1. The book in question is a translation of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, published in 1956 by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.[8] This we know from the Library of Congress listing on the inside title page and from one glancing reference by Čyževs'kyj at the outset of his chapter on Realism (p. 588 n.). We also learn from the Ukrainian Academic Press's flier, "1975 Books in Print," that "the present volume is a revised and enlarged edition of the work published in Ukrainian in 1956." Surprisingly, however, this rather crucial bit of information, and the whole question of the nature and degree of revision and enlargement, and generally the issue of how and why this English version differs from the Ukrainian original, does not appear in either the author's "Introduction" or the editor's two-page foreword, or anywhere in the book. In the one paragraph that Professor Luckyj

[6] George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (New York, 1956); Idem, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko* (Munich, 1971).
[7] All subsequent page references are to this edition.
[8] Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury: Vid počatkiv do doby realizmu* (New York, 1956).

does devote to discussing the translation he confines himself merely to stating the editorial policy on (a) transliteration, (b) rendition of Ukrainian names, and (c) quotations. All the rest, apparently, is believed to be unimportant or self-explanatory. In fact, it is neither, and a comparison of the translation with the Ukrainian original of twenty years ago, and some deliberation on the premises of each, leads us to a number of important problems.

2. The 1956 *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* was itself a continuation of Čyževs'kyj's abiding interest in the history of Ukrainian literature. In 1942, in Prague, he had published a history of Ukrainian literature dealing with the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Baroque,[9] and in the years 1941-44 he wrote, in three long "sketches," a groundbreaking, and now virtually forgotten, study of the Ukrainian Baroque.[10] What is of primary significance in the latter is that Čyževs'kyj was not only writing a literary history, but above all consciously formulating and applying a theory of literary history.[11] A few years later, in the article-brochure *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*,[12] Čyževs'kyj elaborated his basic schema for a theory of literary history and subsequently used it as the theoretical basis for his synoptic *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures*,[13] and then the *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*. This theory, and its concrete application in the *History*, will be of prime concern for us, as will the overall argument of the book, which traces the history of Ukrainian literature, chapter by chapter, from "Pre-history" to the age of "Realism."

At the risk of appearing immodest, it should be noted that we are basically dealing with the *History* for the first time, for it is a curious and disturbing fact that, with but one or two exceptions,[14] there was

[9] *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2: *Renesans ta reformacija: Barok* (Prague, 1942).
[10] *Ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj barok: Narysy*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1941), vol. 2 (Prague, 1942), and vol. 3 (Prague, 1944).
[11] At one point in the *Narysy* (1: 50-51) he speaks (as is fitting for the Prague milieu) of a "'structuralist' history of literature."
[12] Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy* (Augsburg, 1948).
[13] Dmitry Čiževsky, *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures*, Survey of Slavic Civilization, vol. 1 (Boston, 1952).
[14] The only real, extensive analysis was made that same year by Jurij Šerex [Shevelov]: "Na ryštovannjax istoriji literatury," *Ukrajins'ka literaturna hazeta*, June 1956, no. 6 (12), pp. 1-2. A polemical but, in the circumstances, rather moderate reaction came from the Soviet Ukrainian scholar O. Bilec'kyj; cf. "Stan i problemy vyvčennja davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury," in his *Zibrannja prac' u p"jaty tomax* (Kiev, 1965), 1: 123-27. A survey of critical reactions to Čyževs'kyj was made by Osyp Danko, "Prof. Dmytro I. Čyževs'kyj u nas i v čužyx," *Lysty do Pryjateliv* 14, nos. 157-158-159

no serious reaction to Čyževs'kyj's original *Istorija.* Now, the appearance of the English version reactualizes its important position in Ukrainian scholarship. And we approach it, as does the reader, by first confronting the translation itself, the verbal "outer shell" that houses the conceptual core.

3. We are told that the translation was done by Dolly Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline and Ulana Petyk, but we are not informed as to who translated what sections or chapters; the job, and the responsibility, was apparently pooled. This presents no difficulty, however, for the quality of the translation—of the text itself and the many quotations—is uniform throughout, and it is, for the most part, quite inadequate.

A. THE TEXT

1. A fundamental requirement for any scholarly work, and particularly for a work in which the author sets as his primary goal the formal analysis of literary style and language,[15] is adequate command of the technical terminology. The translators are sorely lacking in such command. The following illustrations are only highlights and typical cases; an exhaustive catalogue should perhaps be left for the enterprising reader.

One of the most common of literary terms is "simile" (*porivnannja* in Ukrainian). This, more often than not, is translated as "comparison," as in "straightforward comparisons" (rather than "simple similes"; 137/134),[16] or "extended comparisons" (i.e., "extended similes"; 143/139); cf. also pp. 193, 336, 353, etc. "Comparison," for some reason, appeals to the translators, and thus when Čyževs'kyj tells us to look for enjambments (*perenosy*) in a bit of monologue, they tell us (330/291) to look for "comparisons." To vary the fare, however, *porivnannja* may also be translated as "image" (96/98).

Another rather common literary term is "formula" (in Ukrainian the inscrutable *formulja*), but the translators prefer "[fixed] expression" (117/115) or "[set] phrases" (67/70) or "fixed phrases," as in "numer-

(1966): 43-46. Cf. also Jurij Lavrinenko, "Dmytro Čyževs'kyj—literaturoznavec'," in *Zrub i parosty* (New York, 1971).

[15] Cf. the Introduction, pp. 8-9.

[16] Here, and in the following, the first number refers to the page in the English translation and the second to the Ukrainian original.

ous fixed phrases (to be expected in the oral tradition where they serve to aid the listener in retaining the important aspects of longer works) such as those referring to mounting a horse ..." (132). At this point, however, Čyževs'kyj, speaking of the formal features of the old epos, had said: "čyslenni postijni formuly (pryrodni v usnij slovesnosti, polehšujut' trymaty velyčezni tvory v pam"jati), napr., hoduvannja konja ..." (129), indicating, in short, that formulas are natural in oral poetry since they aid the poet in remembering huge works. Here the added "important aspects," the confusion of the poet with the audience, and the substitution of mounting a horse for feeding him, are all typical of the variations that this trio of translators plays on the theme of Čyževs'kyj.

Like "formula," "antithesis" is too simple (especially since in Ukrainian it is *antyteza*), and the translators prefer "contrast," as in "The most successful dialogs are those in which we find a favorite feature of the Baroque—contrasts, and the tension between ideas or persons" (330/291). Or again we hear that "Skovoroda is particularly fond of contrasts and repetitions ..." (352/308).

When it comes to slightly more technical terms the translators' choices are even further off the mark. *Kanty*, which in English is usually rendered by "canticles" or by the Latin *cantica* (sing. *canticum*), is given as "sing-song"(!), i.e., "sing-songs, close in form to religious hymns" (333/292; cf. also 322/285). Where Čyževs'kyj speaks of *exempla*, the translators give us "examples" (336/295); *rozvynena sentencija* (used with reference to the developed images in Shakespeare's speeches) is given as "extended sentence" (333/292). But the low point of terminological competence comes when the translators confront the terms *virš/viršovanyj*, that is, when Čyževs'kyj, again speaking of the old epos, wonders: "Nepevne navit', čy buv vin viršovanyj ..." and of the *Igor' Tale* says "v pysanomu vyhljadi ne maje viršovanoji formy" (128). As it turns out, our translators do not distinguish between "poetry" and "verse," and the result is the following: "Even the very basic problem of whether these old epic songs were poetic in form cannot be settled conclusively ..." and "*The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* ... in its written form, is not divided into poetic lines" (131). Somewhat further on, Čyževs'kyj returns to this issue: "Vže toj fakt, ščo my poznaxodyly rytm lyše v okremyx miscjax 'Slova' pokazuje, ščo ledve čy možna hovoryty pro 'Slovo' jak pro 'virši.' Spravdi, usi sproby znajty v 'Slovi' xoč by reštku jakojis' viršovoji rytmiky ne vdalysja" (190). The translators produce

the following (note the transition from rhythm to "rhyme"): "The very fact that there are only a few individual passages that rhyme indicates that *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* cannot be regarded as a 'poem': all attempts to detect a consistent rhythmical pattern have been unsuccessful" (201). Many scholars and critics will surely be interested to learn that the *Igor' Tale* is not a "poem." On the other hand, *virši* (sing. *virša*) refers to a particular form of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukrainian poetry, and the term is left in the original and not translated either as "verse" or as "poetry." This is not the case with this translation: cf. p. 254 and passim.

One of the ironies here is that many such errors—of which these are but a sampling—could easily have been avoided if the translators and the editor had consulted the English version of Čyževs'kyj's *History of Russian Literature*,[17] the first two chapters of which closely parallel the first two chapters of the Ukrainian history. That translation has no problems with basic critical terms and, above all, it has a style and diction that does justice to Čyževs'kyj.

2. As compensation for the looseness illustrated above, there are the translators' occasional attempts to improve on Čyževs'kyj by supplying greater "rigor." (For want of any information to the contrary one assumes that these and other similar moments are the work of the translators, and not aspects of the "revision" and "enlargement" we have been told of.) At times these "improvements" simply make the translation more categorical than the original, for example, when Čyževs'kyj's designation of the [Church] Slavonic language as *nenarodna* (210) is rendered as "artificial" (224) (and this, of course, only makes the judgment more questionable), or when he speaks of a "pevna stylistyčna 'monumental'nist'" (69) and the translators come back with "a definite *monumentality* in style" (66) (thus not only mistranslating the adjective—it should be "certain" or "*sui generis*" as in the *History of Russian Literature* [32]—but also deleting the tentativeness of the quotation marks; in general, the deletion of the latter is not uncommon).

Even more indicative of this tendency is the translators' predeliction for weighty terminology. When Čyževs'kyj, speaking of the *Igor' Tale*, refers to the "kompozycija tvoru" (182, 183), the translators replace this with the more scholarly "structure" (192, 193)—even though the

[17] Dmitrij Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature* (The Hague, 1971).

author is clearly speaking of its composition. For good measure the translators adduce a "pattern" or two (e.g., 192/183), even when it is not called for and when it distorts the arguments: i.e., in the above instance Čyževs'kyj is not at all claiming that in the *Igor' Tale* only Jaroslavna's lament has a "pattern." Most inexcusable, however, is a careless "elucidation" which only militates against the sense of Čyževs'kyj's arguments. Throughout his discussion of the *Igor' Tale*, for example, the author is at pains not to identify it with the old epos, and in the Ukrainian version (and in the *History of Russian Literature*) he never calls it an "epic." At the beginning of the section (191/181) and at the end (207/196) he speaks of it as a work *sui generis*, which is *not* identical with the old epos or with old oral poetry (e.g., "Otže musymo pryjmaty 'Slovo,' jak nadzvyčajno cikavu ta krasnu storinku starovyny, bez zajvyx hadan' pro sučasnyj jomu epos ta narodnu poeziju" [196]). And yet, in the course of this section, in direct violation of the argument of the original and with apparent self-contradiction, the translators refer to the *Igor' Tale* at least four times as "this epic" (193/183, 195/185, 201/190, and 204/193); the last reference appears in this sentence: "As in the *Chronicle* the text of this epic is also amply endowed with dialog." The translation, we may submit, is not amply endowed with faithfulness.

3. The deficient critical vocabulary constitutes only a small portion of the overall ineptness of this translation. Between the three of them, the translators have only an approximate knowledge of Ukrainian, and this relates to the grammar, the lexicon, the tone and the style of the language.

Simple mistranslations and inaccuracies are the most basic failing. For example, in the given context (here, the Baroque as such) "pyšnist'" is not "pompousness," but "richness" or "ornateness" (350/307), especially when used in reference to Tuptalo's oratorical style (338/297); "značennja," especially "symvolični," are "meanings," not "connotations" (339/297); "nacional'nyj svitohljad" is "national worldview," not "'nationalistic' worldview" (the quotation marks notwithstanding; 343/301); "obrjad" is not "ritual" but "rite" (450/389); "pastyri" means "shepherds," not "'pastorals'" (quotation marks again notwithstanding; 326/288); "povčal'nyj xarakter" is "didactic character," not "sententious themes" (322/285), etc. The

list could go on for pages. But the distortion introduced by all this is still relatively minor.

There are numerous instances, however, where the distortion is more serious. At one point, for example, Čyževs'kyj concedes that the historian of literature must occasionally pay attention to non-literary figures, here, the Romantic "ideologues": "Dekoho z cyx ideolohiv istorykovi literatury treba tež zhadaty" (386). This is translated as "A number of these ideologists of the history of literature must be acknowledged" (447). In the chapter on Classicism, Čyževs'kyj argues that the comic effect of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's poetry stems from a tension between the overall tone and the content: "... pjanyc'ka liryka 'Do Parxoma' zvučyt', dijsno, patetyčno,—v c'omu rozxodženni zahal'noho tonu ta zmistu—odyn z sekretiv komičnoho vražennja travestij Hulaka-Artemovs'koho" (352). This is translated as "... in the bacchantic lyric 'To Parxom' there is a discrepancy between the travesty's overall content and tone which are comic and its 'sound' which is actually quite moving. This is one of the secrets of the comic impression of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's travesties" (407). It may be interesting to speculate how this contrast of "'sound' which is actually quite moving" and comic content and tone is to be conceived, but whatever it is, it is not what Čyževs'kyj tried to convey. When Čyževs'kyj, citing Kuliš's own words, speaks of his (Kuliš's) searchings for an "elevated tone" ("nastrojuvav kobzu 'na holos vysokyj'"; 459), the translators render this as tuning his *kobza* "'for a high voice'" (546). A falsetto maybe. When in the next sentence Čyževs'kyj lists what he considers Kuliš's prosaisms and concludes that they do not at all contribute to an "elevated tone" ("... u liryčnyx viršax zamist' 'vysokosty' tvorjat' zovsim inše vražennja") the translators decipher him as saying "When such expressions appear in lyrical verse in place of more elevated terminology, the impression created is altogether different." Altogether different indeed.

The translators are particularly helpless with Čyževs'kyj's idiomatic expressions. At one point, for example, he cites some lines from a minor West Ukrainian writer, O. [i.e., Josyf] Levyc'kyj, to illustrate his concern with the language itself, and then notes: "Ci, šče rozmirno vdali rjadky, do reči, vidhonjat' niby navit' romantyčnymy dumkamy pro muzyčnist' movy!" (357). And the translators interpret this as "These lines, while relatively successful in themselves, would dispel even the most romantic notions about the musicality of the language!" (413). Taking *vidhonjat'* to mean "dispel" rather than "in-

timate" or "suggest," they change Čyževs'kyj's point about the incipient Romantic tendencies of this "classicist" writer into something quite different.

Occasionally the misinformation is many-faceted. Thus, in his discussion of Baroque drama Čyževs'kyj says: "Zustričajemo ukrajins'ki intermediji v dejakyx pol's'kyx dramax, jak ot v drami Ja. Gavatovyča z 1619 r. ('Prodav kota v mišku' ta 'Najlipšyj son'—pizniše vidomi jak narodni anekdoty)" (289). In the translation this becomes "Ukrainian *intermedia* can be found in some Polish dramas, viz., in the dramas of Jakub Gawatowicz from 1619—"*Prodav kota v mišku*" ("*He sold a Cat in a Sack*") and "*Najlipšyj son*" ("*The Best Kind of Dream*"), which later became famous as folk anecdotes" (328). Not untypically, Čyževs'kyj's syntax is somewhat opaque, but he clearly speaks of one drama; the translators not only introduce the plural, but also unmistakenly imply that these "dramas" are the ones named. To this one must say: (1) Jakub Gawath, or Gawatowic, wrote only one drama, *Tragaedia albo wizerunk śmierci przeświętego Jana Chrzciciela, przesłańca Bożego*; (2) the two *intermedia* in it are untitled, and it is only noted that they come after the second and third act respectively (they are printed at the end of the play). Voznjak gives them these titles basically for the purpose of identifying the wandering motifs they contain.[18] Čyževs'kyj, in turn, is using a characteristic shorthand method of presenting his material, and does not trouble himself to bring this to our attention. Nor does he tell us that (3) the authorship of Gawath is still uncertain.[19] Indeed, the authorship of all the *intermedia* in the works of all three writers mentioned in this section—Gawath, Dovhalevs'kyj and Konys'kyj—is still an open question.[20] And (4), since the two *intermedia* are already based on traveling folk motifs, it is misleading to speak of them as *later becoming* folk anecdotes, and thus to imply that the movement was from literature to folklore.

As we see from this example, the translators' shaky command of Ukrainian is compounded by a spotty knowledge of Ukrainian literature, and, what is worse, a failure to check facts that are left unclear by Čyževs'kyj in such easily available sources as the *Nowy Korbut* or *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated instance. Perhaps the most striking

[18] Cf. Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3 (L'viv, 1921), 234-38.
[19] Cf. *Nowy Korbut: Bibliografia literatury polskiej*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1964), pp. 183-84.
[20] Cf. *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), p. 270.

case of a bad understanding of Čyževs'kyj's text, predicated on an alarming unfamiliarity with the subject matter—not simply Ukrainian, but European literature in general—occurs when Čyževs'kyj discusses Kvitka's peasant stories. In this connection he says: "Samyj gatunok narodnoho opovidannja ne novyj. Joho zblyžuvaly z pizniśymy sprobamy naturalistiv ... a same Žorž Sand, B. Auerbaxa, Grigorovyča, Turgeneva" (367). And this is what the translators make of it: "The folk tale genre was not a new phenomenon. It had been popularized by George Sand, B. Auerbach, Grigorovič and Turgenev, along with the later attempts of the 'natural' school" (427). Here everything is wrong: the genre of "peasant stories" or "stories of peasant life" or of "village life" is identified with the folk tale, and George Sand, Auerbach, Grigorovič and Turgenev are, without qualms, enumerated as authors of such "folk tales"; moreover, where Čyževs'kyj speaks of this genre (*narodne opovidannja* or "peasant story") as *associated* (i.e., in the opinion of some critics), with the later works of the above-named "naturalists," we are told that it *already* "had been popularized" by them and that there had also been some "later attempts" of the "natural school." It is a rare talent to cram so much misinformation into two short sentences.

But there are also moments of comic relief. As Čyževs'kyj concludes his discussion of the *Supplication of Daniel the Exile*, he says: "Naprykinci z"javljajetsja šče,—mabut', vizantijs'koho poxodžennja—obraz sportovyx čy cyrkovyx uprav pered 'pohanymy saltanamy' ..." (202). And here the translators spring an unexpected variation on us. "Toward the end of the work," they say, "there is a description of athletic or Church ceremonies (perhaps of Byzantine origin) ..." (215). Thus circus exercises or contests become "Church ceremonies" (after all, *cerkovnyj* and *cyrkovyj* are indeed similar), and the translators, despairing of finding a way to correlate the "pagan Sultans" with this unholy combination of sport and religion, simply leave them out.[21]

Even this is topped. Near the end of his discussion of Baroque drama Čyževs'kyj mentions the monologue "with an echo": "Uljublenyj typ monolohu je monoloh 'z lunoju,' ščo, povtorjujučy ostanni slova dijovoji osoby, niby jij vidpovidaje" (292). And the translators come up with this oddity: "A favorite type of monolog is the monolog 'with an echo,' in which the moon, by repeating

[21] Cf. the *History of Russian Literature*, p. 133.

the final words of the character, seems to be answering him" (333). We must assume that the translators, unable to determine whether at this particular moment Čyževs'kyj was writing in Ukrainian or Russian (*luna* is "echo" in the former and "moon" in the latter), decided, in true committee fashion, to take no chances and squeeze both into the sentence. One needs no background in literary criticism to know that something is wrong here.

4. Recent English translations of Čyževs'kyj's works have not been well-favored. In a review of his *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, W. B. Edgerton postulates the possibility of a primitive model computer to account for the inferior and eminently mechanical translation.[22] Here, too, the translators slavishly imitate Čyževs'kyj's syntax, with its convolutions, series of dependent clauses and parenthetical asides. What is acceptable, if idiosyncratic, in Ukrainian becomes a disaster in English. What, for example, should one make of sentences such as these?

— The folkish quality here is not only vulgar (*okoliv*—he "croaked"), but also apt, stylistically (using an epithet—*nasušnyj* [daily]—without its noun, bread, a common device in Kuliš). (457)

— Like similar works in the West and in the Slavic world (Mickiewicz, the Slovak L. Štúr; the existence of an unknown work, *Naddnistrjanka—The Maid of Dniester*—of which "The Books" were an imitation, as Kostomarov assured the authorities, is highly questionable), the document is written in a biblical style. (497)

— The action follows—the fate of the "lover of feasts" who is reminded by the lament of Job (who appears to him in his sleep) and poor Lazarus that his happiness on earth is very insecure. (323)

— The proportion of social and political (including anti-clerical sentiments) poems was augmented ... . (538)

Difficulties with punctuation (again, simply mechanical transposition from the Ukrainian), the inability to choose correctly the definite or indefinite article, and leaden, awkward and simply ungrammatical English are more the rule than the exception. Some further examples: "Christianity is thus embellished with practicality ..." (428), "New are the prose laments ..." (323), "authoress" (who else but Lesja Ukrajinka; 616), "revisions to the poem" (549), "All of this could not excuse his dramas for being insufficiently scenic ..."

[22] See the *Slavic and East European Journal* 16, no. 1 (1972): 84-89.

(475), "The language stands on midway between Russian and Ukrainian ..." and "The national significance of Baroque historiography is unquestionable; neither are its literary achievements ..." (349), "... Mykola Voronyj (1871-1937), self-educated (and with hardship) ..." (618), etc., etc. What the English of the translation desperately needs is some good editing.

B. THE QUOTATIONS

1. As even a cursory glance will show, quotations from the works discussed are eminently important for Čyževs'kyj, and in some chapters they are as much as a fourth of the entire text. Not unexpectedly, they, too, suffer at the hands of the translators. The principal problem is again one of accuracy and beyond that, the still more basic problem of understanding what the cited words mean. More often than not this means knowing the context—literary, historical or cultural. As we can see, the translators have little of this knowledge to go around.

2. One can begin with simple mistranslations, for example: "vraže pole krovju močyt'" means "he drenches the enemy field with blood" and not "fiendishly, he drenches the fields with blood" (461). To take another battlistic formula, "spysamy oraty, trupom zasivaty" means simply "to plow with spears, to sow with corpses"; the translators, however, believe *trupom* to be singular, and give the second part of the formula a surrealist cast: "to sow with a corpse" (543). When Ševčenko begins a poem with "čoho ty xodyš na mohylu" it means "Why do you *take walks to* the burial mound" and not "Why do you *walk upon* the gravemound" (515; emphasis mine), and when he sees Xmel'nyc'kyj "v bahni svynjačym," it is, as the context of "Jakby to ty, Bohdane p"janyj" makes very clear, "pigs' filth" and not "a filthy swamp" that he is referring to (514). To return to an image already encountered, when Kuliš says (in "Do brativ na Ukrajinu"—Čyževs'kyj almost never identifies his citations),

Pidtjanu ja struny
  na holos vysokyj.
Ne sumuj, Tarase bat'ku,
  v mohyli hlybokij ...

he is promising, as we said, a new "elevated" poetry—and this can

hardly be translated as "I will tighten its strings to a *strident pitch* ..." (541; emphasis mine).

As in the text proper, idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and all formulations reflecting the spirit of the language fare worst of all. Thus *odkynutu nohy* is translated as "to give up one's legs" (406), which is neither the idiomatically equivalent "to kick the bucket" nor the literally correct "to stretch out one's legs"; *siv xutorom* is rendered as "stayed put on the homestead," rather than the simple and accurate "settled down ..." (531) "Tonučyj xvatajetsja i meča" is given this laborious "equivalent": "A drowning man will resort to anything" (337). "Pes na sini," a truncated proverb which Čyževs'kyj does not complete since he assumes a Ukrainian audience, is translated as "'A dog lay in the hay'—indicates negligence" (23). (It does nothing of the sort: the whole saying is "Pes na sini—sam ne z'jist' i druhomu ne dast'," and, if anything, it indicates mindless malice.)

As noted before, all this ineptness overlaps with an ignorance of the historical, cultural and literary background. When Čyževs'kyj speaks of Galjatovs'kyj's concern with the *vijna domovaja* this is a reference to the "civil war," i.e., the Xmel'nyc'kyj Revolution, the subject of Samuel Twardowski's contemporary epic, *Wojna domowa*; to translate it as "strife at home" (336) does not do. When Čyževs'kyj cites Hrebinka, "Ščob vynnyci davaly nam z kožnoho puda vidro pinnoji horilky" the translators give us this: "May the vineyards give us a bucket full of brandy for each pound of our weight'" (431). They not only confuse human avoirdupois with the grape harvest, but also the message with the addressees, for Čyževs'kyj said that this was how Hrebinka "proščajetsja z zemljakamy prostac'kymy pobažannjamy" (371); now "simple well-wishing" is turned into "simple countrymen," i.e., "Hrebinka bids goodbye to his simple countrymen ..." (431). In *Mylost' Božija* (an early eighteenth-century Kievan school drama) there is a speech by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj where these words appear:

> ... Tatary, turky i nimci byvaly
> ne strašni—i ljaxy ly užasni nam staly?
> ....
> Kohda šablja pry nas jest', ne zovsim propala
> mnohoimenytaja onaja poxvala naša ...

And this becomes: "... The Tartars, the Turks and the Germans *were once here*;/they were not very terrible—and have the Poles

become more terrible for us?/... When the sabre is at our side, *we see* that our *pristine valor* has not entirely disappeared ..." (325; emphasis mine). Here the translators botch the simple construction "byvaly ne strašni," add the awkward and superfluous "we see," and by making "many-tongued fame" (*mnohoimenytaja poxvala*) into "pristine valor" seem to be turning the Cossacks into Arthurian knights.

When Čyževs'kyj cites Kostomarov on Ševčenko, "Muza Ševčenka rozryvala zavisu narodn'oho žyttja" (424), the translators render this as "Ševčenko's muse tore away the veil from national life" (498). The reference, of course, is to the curtain or veil sundered in the temple at the moment of Christ's death, signifying the break between the Old and the New Testament.[23] The Kostomarov quotation continues with "Tarasova muza prorvala jakyjs' pidzemnyj zaklep vže kil'ka vikiv zamknenyj bahat'oma zamkamy, zapečatanyj bahat'oma pečatjamy," which the translators (confusing *zaklep* ["crypt" or "cavern"] with "chains") nonsensically decipher as "Taras' muse sundered subterranean chains that for centuries had been fettered by a myriad of locks and seals."

3. Along with the mistranslations, an equally deplorable failing is the translators' uncanny ability to banalize the literary texts that Čyževs'kyj cites. Their technique is analogous to what Čyževs'kyj discovered in Gogol', namely, the device of lowering the elevated and inflating the low.[24] Thus when citing the words of Svjatopolk from the story of the blinding of Vasyl'ko (which Čyževs'kyj gives in modern Ukrainian) the translators say: "If you do not wish to wait until my name day, then come today. You can greet me and you, I and David can have a chat" (86). (In the original this is "Da ašče ne xoščes' ostati do imenin" moix", da pridi nyne, celueši mja, i posedim vsi z Davydom"," and in Zenkovsky's popular edition it is, quite adequately, "If you are unwilling to remain until my name day, at least come and embrace me now, and then we shall meet with David.")[25] When Stefan Javors'kyj turns to God with the words "Ty malo spyšy, a my bezsonnyceju tvojeju vysypljajemsja ...,"

[23] Cf. Matthew 27: 51, Mark 15: 38, Luke 24: 45.

[24] Cf. his "Gogol: Artist and Thinker," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 2, no. 2 [4] (Summer, 1952): 261-78.

[25] Cf. Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed., *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales* (New York, 1963), p. 74.

bezsonnycja becomes not "sleeplessness" but "insomnia" (340-41). When Skovoroda says "Mnohiji iščut' Jeho v jedynonačalstvijax Kesarja Avhusta ...," *jedynonačalstvije* is rendered not as "autocracy," but as "one man rule" (343). (Throughout the passage, moreover, the translators mistranslate "nest' zde"—"He is not here," the answer the angel gave to Christ's disciples when they returned to his grave—as "No not here.")

On the other hand, there is again the parallel tendency to "improve" or "adjust" the original. Thus *horilka* (which occurs often, since Čyževs'kyj is fond of quotations that refer to it) is never "spirits" or the more or less equivalent "vodka," but "brandy" or even "whiskey" (299); this apparently is less vulgar. According to the translators, we do not find in Ukrainian works "boys" and "girls" but "lads" and "lasses," e.g., "Xlopci, divky navperedky bihajut' pid xatky / i, jak vovky abo svynky, skyrhučut koljadky" becomes "The lads and lasses run ahead and under cottage roofs screech out carols like wolves or hogs" (378). (This, one may add, is another typical mistranslation, for what this satirical *virša* says is that "Boys and girls *race each other to the houses* [the meaning of *navperedky* and *pid xatky*] and screetch out carols like wolves or *piglets*.") *Vovky-siromanci* is gratuitously passed through a sentimental filter: they become "wolves—poor gray things" (542); another time they are simply "poor gray wolves." This list can also be continued for pages.

As one might expect, Ševčenko fares very badly indeed. As with virtually all translations of his poetry into English, the immediacy and emotional directness of his diction is something the translators cannot tolerate. One can take examples at will. When Ševčenko says

> Oj odna ja odna,
> jak bylynočka v poli,
> Ta ne dav meni Boh
> ani ščastja, ni doli ...

this becomes the simultaneously pompous and simpering "Alone am I, indeed alone, as a poor little blade of grass in the field. Not to me did God give either happiness or good fortune" (500). When Ševčenko says "Oj pišla ja u jar za vodoju, / až tam mylyj huljaje z druhoju" comes out as "Alas, I went to the ravine to fetch some water, and there my darling was *cavorting* with another" (501-502; emphasis mine). And finally, the beautifully concise lament:

> I bahata ja
> i vrodlyva ja,
> ta ne maju sobi pary—
> beztalanna ja! ...

is made into "And rich am I, and beautiful too. Yet I have no mate—poor me! ..." (501). "Seizing hold of your head in your hands" (to again quote the translators; 540), you think: anything, anything but this execrable "poor me!"

4. Given their skill, the translators would have been well advised not to translate many of Čyževs'kyj's quotations (some—too few—are, in fact, left in the Ukrainian). This applies most of all to Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida.* The effect of unselectively translating various catalogues with pedestrian dictionary equivalents, with no hope of even approximating Kotljarevs'kyj's wit or his modulation of sound and rhythm, is totally counter-productive. (One should note that what is implicitly presented as one—altogether tedious—"passage" [cf. 393-95] is in fact a collage of excerpts from four widely separated scenes in the poem, i.e., I, 27; III, 118; IV, 29 and 53.) Kotljarevs'kyj's lists of Ukrainian cuisine (to which Čyževs'kyj characteristically devotes more attention than to, say, the question of satire in the *Enejida*) sound like nothing so much as anti-poetry concocted from a menu of questionable ethnic delicacies. When this:

> І ласощі все тілько їли,
> Сластьони, коржики, стовпці,
> Варенички пшенишні, білі,
> Пухкі з кав'яром буханці;
> Часник, рогіз, паслін, кислиці,
> Козельці, терн, глід, полуниці,
> Крутиї яйця з сирівцем;
> І дуже вкусную яешню,
> [Якусь німецьку, не тутешню,
> А запивали все пивцем.] (III, 118)

is made into this:

> And they fairly gobbled up all the dainties: the pastries, small biscuits, lady fingers, white wheaten *varenyky*, rich little caviar-stuffed bread puffs; garlic, mace, morels, crabapples, valerian herbs, sloes, haw-

> thorn berries, strawberries, hard-boiled eggs with
> kvass, and a very tasty omelet. ... (394)

the major effect is to mock a great literary work.

III. THE METHOD AND PREMISES OF THE HISTORY

1. Our subsequent analysis of Čyževs'kyj's individual points and general theses will deal with the broader issues. Now our focus is specifically on the method and the "scholarly apparatus," that is, the organization and presentation of primary and secondary source material. Under this rubric, moreover, we can deal with those elements in the apparatus that are Čyževs'kyj's and those that are newly added for this English version.

2. One major emendation is the "Index of Names and Titles," something that is notoriously lacking in most Ukrainian histories and in Soviet publications as a rule. Čyževs'kyj's original index was rather skimpy, and the present one, compiled by Alexandra Chernenko-Rudnytsky, is considerably more detailed and therefore much more helpful. It is, however, a mirror of the text of the *History*, and all the errors, inconsistencies and flaws in titles and names are duly reflected in it—in alphabetical order.

To take consistency, for example, the *Igor' Tale* is referred to principally as *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*; after p. 461, however, it becomes *The Tale of the Host of Ihor*. *Mylost' Bozija* is once "The Grace of God" (324) and once *God's Mercy* (630). For the most part, titles are translated and listed in both Ukrainian and English, but sometimes this is not the case, as with the *Slovo Adama v pekli do Lazarja* (also given as *Slovo Adama vo adi ko Lazarju*) or the *Slovo o knjazex* (or *Slovo pro knjaziv*), which are only mentioned in translation. There is also no consistency in the use of proper names. "In the first two chapters," to quote the "Foreword," "some names are given in their anglicized (or Latinized) version" (xi). Thus, Athanasius not Afanasij, Gregory not Grigorij, Hilarion not Ilarion. Others retain their original form (Jaroslav, Svjatopolk, etc.), while still others are given in the modern Ukrainian equivalent (Ol'ha, Hlib, Volodymyr, Ihor, etc.). The motivation for this is presumably a desire to "Ukrainianize" the past (even if at the cost, as the editor himself admits [x], of providing an inaccurate phonetic reconstruction). One may submit

that this is not necessary: the Ukrainian past need not be Ukrainianized by making the historical Igor' Ihor, or Oleg" Oleh. Moreover, a "scholarly account" should adhere to established scholarly practice.

There are further inconsistencies and mistranslations in the titles. *Čumak* is once "carter" (*Do čumakiv*/To the Carters; 577) and once "wagoneer" (*sic*) (*Čumaky*/Wagoneers; 610); neither is correct: *čumaky* should be "ox-cart drivers." *Povija* should not be the euphemistic *A Fallen Woman* (598), but *The Whore*. *Burlačka* would probably be better translated as *A Landless Woman* rather than *A Vagrant Girl*, and *Pryčepa* as *The Parasite* (or some variant of it, as "leech" or "hanger-on") and not as *An Intruder* (597). *Propašča syla* is "doomed strength," not "wasted strength." Rendering *Xiba revut' voly jak jasla povni* as *When One Has Enough, One Does Not Complain* is no less awkward than a literal translation, and rather more banal. "Pryčynna" should be "The Bewitched," not simply "Bewitched" (515). In fact, throughout the text the translators have their difficulties with the article, as, for example, in *The Citizen's Conversation with the Peasant and the Church Singer* and *The Dialogue Between the Lumberman and the Merchant* (354) where all the *the*'s should be *a*'s. On the other hand, the translation of Franko's *Z veršyn i nyzyn* (*From Heights and Depths*) (606) is missing the definite article.

One significant error in the translation of titles concerns Kvitka's *Špyhačky, abo po-moskovs'komu epihramy*. In the text this is given as "Little Stingers or Moscow-Style Epigrams"; in the index this is "corrected" to read "Little Stingers in 'Russian' Epigrams" (661 and 674). What is required, of course (assuming that one accepts "little stingers" for *špyhačky*), is "Little Stingers, or in Russian, 'Epigrams.'" This is important not as just another mistranslation, but because it obscures the existence of parallel terminology—of "špyhačky" on the one hand and "epihramy" on the other—which, as we shall see, is an issue of profound importance for nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature.

The title of Pantelejmon Kuliš's *Xutorni nedoharky* recalls the destructive fire at his *xutir*, Motronivka, and *nedoharky* should be translated as "charred remnants," or "burnt fragments"; the translators give us "*Candle-ends of a Country Homestead*" (549). The translation of Słowacki's *Żmija* as *The Snake* (454) is incorrect: it should remain untranslated since it is a proper name (of a fictitious hetman); moreover, the title of his early poem is "Dumka ukraińska," *not* "Duma ukraińska" (454/393). *Sielanki*, whether referring

to Szymonowic's work, or to Zimorowic's, should be rendered as "Idylls," not "peasant Idylls" (358). Considerable confusion is associated with the name of the irrepressible Cossacophile, Michał Czajkowski. In the original Čyževs'kyj says that his "'Kozac'ki povisti' (1837), romantyčno zabarvleni avanturnyči romany nevysokoji jakosty, maly nadzvyčajnyj uspix ..." (392), which the translators render as "his mediocre *Powieści Kozackie* (*Cossacks' tales*, 1837), Romanticized adventure novels, were enormously successful ..." (454). To begin, Czajkowski's *Powieści kozackie* (which should be translated as *Cossack tales* or *Stories*) are short stories, not novels; they are not at all mediocre, but rather successful examples of Romantic poetic prose, stylized to imitate the *dumy* and folk songs. Some of his later novels may be called mediocre, but it is difficult to determine from Čyževs'kyj's prose whether "romany" refers to these or whether it is in apposition to *Powieści kozackie*. Somewhat later, Čyževs'kyj refers to the "pereklady [nimec'koju movoju] pol's'kyx 'ukrajins'kix povistej' M. Čajkovs'koho" (485); one assumes he is referring to such novels as *Wernyhora* or *Hetman Ukrainy*—but they are never named. In the translation this becomes: "... there appeared German translations of the Polish *Ukrainian Tales* by M. Czajkowski" (582). Apart from introducing a non-existent entity—the *Ukrainian Tales*—there is some ambiguity as to who is the author and who is the translator. This is resolved in the index, where we have the following entry: "*Ukrainian Tales* (trans. by Czajkowski)" (677).

Another spurious entry in the index is a *Bogdan Xmelnickij*, attributed to Niemcewicz (644); in the text we see that this is inferred from Čyževs'kyj's reference to Niemcewicz's *dumy* and their influence on Ryleev (449). While the influence was there, Niemcewicz, unlike Ryleev, wrote no *duma* on Xmel'nyc'kyj. He did, however, write a drama entitled *Bohdan Chmielnicki* (which was published in fragments at the beginning of the twentieth century and which Čyževs'kyj does not mention).

On the whole, these are all relatively minor and technical matters. Much more indicative of the scholarship of this new version of the *History* is the appended Bibliography.

3. To be sure, this is a "Selected Bibliography" (as opposed to that of the 1956 edition, which appeared without such qualification). In the editor's "Foreword" we are told that "The bibliography, which the author compiled for the Ukrainian edition in 1956, has been

supplemented by some items published since then" (xi), but the prefacing remarks to it remain the same as in the earlier edition. Thus we do not know to whom we owe the supplementing—to Professor Čyževs'kyj or Luckyj. But whoever the principal author, the bibliography is as inadequate and disappointing as anything we have yet seen of this translation.

Already the 1956 edition of Čyževs'kyj's bibliography could be faulted for being narrow and idiosyncratic in parts, and generally somewhat dated (in the main, it reflects the scholarship of the first two or three decades of the twentieth century). But given the circumstances of its writing, and the specific nature of the Ukrainian original, this is more or less excusable. For the English version, however, to present this same bibliography, twenty years later, virtually unchanged, is to mock the reader's expectations of "a scholarly account of the entire, complex history of the literature" and "a reference guide for further study." Given the fact that in the period since 1956 there have appeared many significant scholarly works pertaining to all periods of Ukrainian literature, given the genuine flowering of interest in Old Kievan literature, given the important contributions in many countries in national and general, theoretical studies on the Renaissance, the Baroque, Classicism, Romanticism and Realism (especially the Baroque and Romanticism), and the fact that the stated purpose of the bibliography is to acquaint the reader with "the current status of research" (619), the author and the editor would perhaps have been better advised to forgo a bibliography (as was done with the *History of Russian Literature*) than to engage in unconvincing window dressing. For not counting references to new editions of previously cited works, and not counting the new section on Realism, the entire bibliography, for every chapter and every period of Ukrainian literature, is supplemented by a total of *twenty-six new positions*! The break-down is as follows: three new positions for all of "General Histories," the "Pre-Historic Period" and "Translated and Borrowed Literature," two new works for all of Kievan literature, one work for the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and two on the Renaissance and Reformation, eight on the Baroque, two on Classicism, and eight on Romanticism. If one were to believe this to be an accurate reflection of the actual state of interest and scholarship, the picture would appear bleak indeed. Fortunately, the reality and its depiction are two different matters.

3.1 In the realm of "General History" (of Ukrainian literature) there have not been any significant new contributions apart from the obvious one—the eight-volume Kiev edition. Čyževs'kyj's own *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, which is listed here as the other contribution, treats Ukrainian literature in a peripheral and niggardly manner.[26] The minimal treatment here is made even worse by the editorializing of Professor Zenkovsky, who distorts much of Čyževs'kyj's argumentation (i.e., by ascribing the Kievan period solely to Russian literature, by making "East Slavs" [*Ostslaven*] into "Russians," and by generally minimalizing the Ukrainian and aggrandizing the Russian element in the complex historical interrelation of these literatures).[27] For the editor to substitute this work for Čyževs'kyj's earlier *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures*, with its more balanced and undistorted treatment of Ukrainian literature, is only a disservice.

Missing under the rubric of "General History" is mention of the fact that both the five-volume *History of Ukrainian Literature* of Hruševs'kyj and the three-volume *History* of Voznjak have been reprinted. What is also missing—and this is quite regrettable—is mention of the single most useful tool for any student or scholar working in Ukrainian literature, namely, the five-volume *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafičnyj slovnyk* (Kiev, 1960-65).

3.2 In the next sections, those relating to "Prehistory," "Translated and Borrowed Literature," and especially to the Kievan literature of the eleventh to thirteenth century, the "Monumental" and "Ornamental" periods, as Čyževs'kyj calls them, one would expect to see a situation that is dramatically different. As anyone working in the field knows, the last twenty years have witnessed a remarkable up-

[26] Dmitrij Čiževskij, *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures* (Nashville, Tenn., 1971). In the thirteen-page chapter on the Renaissance, for example, one page is devoted to Ukrainian literature—and that is the highpoint. In the chapter on Baroque there are in sum two or three paragraphs. In the eleven-page chapter on Classicism, half a page is devoted to Ukrainian travesties; the thirty-page chapter on Romanticism has no more than about ten one-sentence references to things Ukrainian; and the twenty-five-page chapter on Realism has two sentences noting the existence of Panas Myrnyj, Ivan Franko and Mikhaylo Kocjubynšky (*sic*), and one more sentence stating that "The entire sizable Ukrainian stage literature of realism managed not to go beyond the borders of the peasant world" (p. 173).

[27] The pattern of distortion and falsification in Zenkovsky's editing of this book is discussed in Jaroslav Rozumnyj's "Porivnjal'na istorija slav"jans'kyx literatur Dmytra Čyževs'koho," *Sučasnist'*, 1973, no. 2 (146), pp. 33-43.

surge in Soviet, and non-Soviet, scholarship; already at the "midway point" of 1966 there was a solid block of achievements.[28] And yet, incredible as it may seem, only three—three!—new positions are adduced: an English translation of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, a new edition of the *1076 Izbornik* and a study of Josephus Flavius's *History of the Jewish War* in Old Rus'ian translations. While the Soviet scholarship in this area is usually of the highest order, while it deals very frequently with such subjects as style, poetics, and theory (relating to genres, aesthetic perspective, worldview, etc.), while the annual appearance of the *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* invariably introduces new and interesting studies, none of this is recognized, neither the works of D. S. Lixačev, V. Adrianova-Peretc, or I. P. Eremin, nor the various studies on the *Igor' Tale*, or the many collective studies—nothing.[29] Whatever the reason for this silence, it makes for bad scholarship.

3.3 The same applies in varying degree to the other sections of the Bibliography as well. For the Renaissance, for example, neither the recent overview of the state of the scholarship by the late Bohdan Krawciw, nor the works mentioned in his article, with the exception of Nalyvajko's, are included.[30] In all, the latter and Jaremenko's study of the *Perestoroha* are the only new works to be noted. Unmentioned, too, are Voznjak on Ivan Borec'kyj (1954), and the recent study by Isajevyč on Ivan Fedorov (1975).[31]

Studies on the Renaissance and Reformation in Poland (and the Ukraine was, of course, an integral part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) have been qualitatively and quantitatively most impressive. The bibliography on the subject in the *Nowy Korbut* covers more than 60 pages of small print in double columns.[32] Čyževs'kyj,

[28] See Rudolf Neuhauser, "Changing Attitudes in Soviet-Russian Studies of Kievan and Old Russian Literature," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 8 (1966): 182-97.

[29] See especially the cumulative indexes in the *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*; for an older bibliography see N. F. Droblenkova's *Bibliografija sovetskix russkix rabot po literature XI-XVII vekov, za 1917-1957 gg.* (Moscow, 1961); see also Günther Wytrzenz, *Bibliographische Einführung in das Studium der slavischen Literaturen* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1972).

[30] See Bohdan Kravciv [Krawciw], "Renesans i humanizm na Ukrajini," *Sučasnist'*, 1974, no. 9 (165), pp. 33-52.

[31] See M. Voznjak, *Pys'mennyc'ka dijal'nist' Ivana Borec'koho na Volyni i u L'vovi* (L'viv, 1954), and Ja. D. Isajevyč, *Peršodrukar Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennja drukarstva na Ukrajini* (Kiev, 1975).

[32] Vol. 1, pp. 57-127.

however, brings himself only to cite Tretjak's 1912 study of Skarga. One could, at the very least, have expected him to mention Brückner's "Spory o unie w dawnej literaturze."[33]

In this section Čyževs'kyj also deals with the *dumy*, and the Bibliography mentions some basic positions—Žytec'kyj, Kolessa, Hruševs'ka. However, it neglects to mention a recent scholarly collection of *dumy* which, unlike earlier popular editions, provides many variants and a competent introduction, and which, above all, is available, and not, like the three above-mentioned collections, a bibliophilic rarity.[34] Among recent critical works, the late Orest Zilyns'kyj's article on the origins of the *duma* should also have been included.[35]

3.4 When turning to the Baroque, one is reminded that Čyževs'kyj is widely and justly considered to have been instrumental in bringing this period to the prominence it now enjoys. Yet the bibliography provides a very disappointing picture of the scholarship on the Baroque. Of the eight new entries, five are new editions (of Vyšens'kyj, Skovoroda, Velyčkovs'kyj, the *Litopys Samovydcja* and an English translation of Dorošenko's *Ohljad ukrajins'koji istoriohrafiji*) and three are studies—an article by Ivan'o (not Ivan'ko!), a study of Vyšens'kyj's language, and Čyževs'kyj's own study of Skovoroda. But although the scholarship on the Ukrainian Baroque does not compare with that devoted to Kievan and Old Rus'ian literature, or with the broad front of Polish scholarship, the situation is somewhat brighter than one could infer from this updating. Thus, along with above-mentioned editions, there have also appeared editions of the works of Klymentij Zinovijiv (Kiev, 1971); and, a year later, a reprint of Peretc's edition, with a foreword by Čyževs'kyj himself(!);[36] of Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj's *Poetyka*, complete with a valuable introduction by I. V. Ivan'o;[37] the works of Teofan Prokopovyč;[38] and a carefully prepared series of monuments of the Ukrainian language (which, in view of Čyževs'kyj's express interest in the development

[33] See Alexander Brückner, "Spory o unie w dawnej literaturze," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 10 (1896): 578-644.
[34] *Ukrainskie narodnye dumy* (Moscow, 1972).
[35] Orest Zilyns'kyj [Zilynskij], "Dawna duma ukraińska i polska w świetle danych historycznych," *Slavia Orientalis* 22, no. 4 (1973): 439-50.
[36] Klymentij Zinovijiv, *Virši, Prypovisti pospolyti* (Kiev, 1971), and *Virši jerom. Klymentija Zynovijeva syna*, ed. V. Peretc (Munich, 1972).
[37] Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyj, *Poetyka/Sad poetyčnyj/* (Kiev, 1973).
[38] Feofan Prokopovič, *Sočinenija*, ed. I. P. Eremin (Moscow, 1961).

of the literary language, would also seem relevant).[39] Also not mentioned are such important synoptic studies as those of Isajevyč on the role of the *bratstva* in Ukrainian culture in the sixteenth to eighteenth century, Xyžnjak on the Kiev Mohyla Academy, a collection of articles on the philosophic thought of that period (*Vid Vyšens'koho do Skovorody*), and, not least, Ja. P. Zapasko's admirable study, with excellent bibliography, on the art of book printing in the Ukraine in the sixteenth to eighteenth century.[40]

Mention of Čyževs'kyj's 1973 study of Skovoroda should not have totally eclipsed the considerable output of Skovorodiana on the 250th anniversary of the poet-philosopher's birth. While differing in quality, and ranging in subject matter from philosophical investigation (*Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody*) to fictionalized biography (by I. Pil'huk), the more serious of these works certainly deserve mention.[41]

Other works which focus on this period are M. S. Hrycaj's studies of Old Ukrainian poetry, prose, and drama; H. Sydorenko's study (also appearing in Polish) of Ukrainian versification; a collection, with commentary, of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukrainian fables, and, finally, a superbly edited collection of five unpublished articles by the eminent Ukrainian scholar of this period, V. N. Peretc.[42] They, too, are overlooked.

[39] I.e., the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' series *Pam'jatky ukrajins'koji movy*, with such positions as *Leksykon slovenoros'kyj Pamvy Beryndy* (1961), *Leksykon latyns'kyj Je. Slavynec'koho, Leksykon Sloveno-latyns'kyj Je. Slavynec'koho ta A. Korec'koho-Satanovs'koho* (1973) and the fine facsimile edition of I. Uževyč's *Hramatyka slov'jans'ka* (1970). (The series also contains earlier and later monuments, e.g., the *Ukrajins'ki hramoty XV st.* [1965], the *Ukrajins'ki hramoty XIV st.* [1974], and the *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy* of P. Bilec'kyj-Nosenko [1966].)

[40] I.e., Ja. D. Isajevyč, *Bratstva ta jix rol' v rozvytku ukrajins'koji kul'tury XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1966); Z. I. Xyžnjak, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija* (Kiev, 1970); *Vid Vyšens'koho do Skovorody: Z istoriji filosofs'koji dumky na Ukrajini XVI-XVIII st.*, ed. V. M. Ničyk (Kiev, 1972); and Ja. P. Zapasko, *Mystectvo knyhy na Ukrajini v XVI-XVIII st.* (L'viv, 1971). One can also note Isajevyč's *Džerela z istoriji ukrajins'koji kul'tury doby feodalizmu, XVI-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1972).

[41] I.e., *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody* (Kiev, 1972); Leonid Maxnovec', *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Biohrafija* (Kiev, 1972); P. M. Popov, *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Xudožnyj žyttjepys* (Kiev, 1971); and A. Niženec', *Na zlami dvox svitiv* (Xarkiv, 1970).

[42] M. S. Hrycaj, *Davnja ukrajins'ka poezija* (Kiev, 1972), *Davnja ukrajins'ka proza* (Kiev, 1975), and *Ukrajins'ka dramaturhija XVII-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1974); H. Syvokin', *Davni ukrajins'ki poetyky* (Xarkiv, 1960); H. K. Sydorenko, *Ukrajins'ke viršuvannja: Vid najdavnišyx časiv do Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1972) and her *Zarys wersyfikacji ukraińskiej* (Wrocław, 1961); *Bajky v ukrajins'kij literaturi XVII-XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1963); V. N. Peretc, *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starinnoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI-XVIII vekov* (Moscow, 1962). The latter is extremely valuable for its full bibliography of Peretc's writings.

The pattern that emerges seems to indicate a reluctance to consult or acknowledge Soviet scholarship. This is a serious problem in its own right. But how can one explain, given Čyževs'kyj's citing of marginal German studies, the near total absence of references to any Polish studies of the Baroque (with the only exception being Brückner's general history)? Missing are not only such recent studies as those of Cz. Hernas and J. Sokołowska, but also works which deal specifically with Ukrainian literature, e.g., those of R. Łużny or P. Lewin.[43] In English, one could have at least expected to see Harold Segal's recent "comparative survey," *The Baroque Poem.*[44]

3.5 As regards Classicism, no mention is made of the recent full edition of Kotljarevs'kyj's works, or of the edition of Bilec'kyj-Nosenko's poetry, or of the collection of "little-known" early nineteenth-century Ukrainian plays (including those of V. Hohol', K. Topolja, etc.),[45] or of various critical studies.

3.6 The culmination of this pattern comes with the section on Romanticism, which is the longest and which has as many as eight additions to the 1956 bibliography. Of these, two are new anthologies, and the rest various studies. The most inadequate part of this section is the first (A and B), dealing with "Literary Romanticism" and "Ukrainian Romanticism." What we have listed here is P. Kluckhohn's *Das Ideengut der deutschen Romantik* (1942), A. Beguin's *L'âme romantique* (1934), one unnamed article each by Čyževs'kyj, Fylypovyč and N. Hnatyšak (this "on the ballad"), and again Čyževs'kyj's *Narysy z istoriji filosofiji na Ukrajini*, which, it is said here, "contains a section of the world view of the Ukrainian Romantics" (634). And this is all. In view of Čyževs'kyj's professed intent to list "those editions of texts and those studies that will aid the reader in familiarizing himself with the current status of research" (619), this must be seen as some sort of misunderstanding. For the resurgent interest

[43] Czesław Hernas, *Barok* (Warsaw, 1973); Jadwiga Sokołowska, *Spory o barok: W poszukiwaniu modelu epoki* (Warsaw, 1971); cf. Ryszard Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademiji Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (Cracow, 1966), or Paulina Lewin, *Wykłady poetyki w uczelniach Rosyjskich XVIII w. (1722-1774) a tradycje polskie* (Wrocław, 1972).
[44] Harold B. Segal, *The Baroque Poem: A Comparative Survey* (New York, 1974).
[45] Cf. I. P. Kotljarevs'kyj, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv* (Kiev, 1969); Pavlo Bilec'kyj-Nosenko, *Poeziji* (Kiev, 1973); and *Ukrajins'ka dramaturhija peršoji polovyny XIX stolittja* (Kiev, 1958).

in Romanticism, in both East and West, has given us considerably more than this list. In English there are, besides the well-known studies by Wellek, Abrams, or Praz, a number of recent informative and provocative studies—by L. Furst, H. Bloom, N. Frye, and many others.[46] There are also general overviews of European Romanticism and specific studies of Slavic Romanticism.[47] It is in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, however, that Romanticism has undergone a dramatic renascence, tangible proof of which was also the Seventh International Congress of Slavists in Warsaw, in 1973, devoted in large part precisely to this period. The long and traditional Polish interest in this field has been given new insights by the recent works of Stefanowska, Janion and Żmigrodska.[48] In Russian literature, too, several studies on Romanticism have recently appeared.[49] And finally in Ukrainian literature, as well, Romanticism has been "rehabilitated." Along with the two anthologies mentioned here (*Ukrajins'ki poety-romantyky 20-40-x rokiv XIX st.* and *Pys'mennyky zaxidnoji Ukrajiny*) there appeared new editions of Kuliš, Borovykovs'kyj, Hrebinka, Storoženko, Šaškevyč, Metlyns'kyj and Kostomarov, and Afanas'jev-Čužbyns'kyj; several facsimile editions of Ševčenko's poetry (*Try lita*, the first *Kobzar*, etc.); a facsimile of the *Rusalka Dnistrovaja*, and, in Czechoslovakia, a large, two-volume edition of the works of Duxnovyč; there have appeared anthologies of the post-Ševčenko poets, of the "pre-Revolutionary" fable and of "songs and romances" (the latter two with considerable attention to the Romantic period); an anthology and studies of the ballad; studies of the periodicals of that period; and also—and this would be of particular interest to Čyževs'kyj, given his interest in the various "Ukrainian schools"—

[46] Cf., for example, René Wellek, "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History" and "Romanticism re-Examined" in his *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven, 1963); M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (Oxford, 1953); Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (London, 1970); L. Furst, *Romanticism*; the collection *Romanticism and Consciousness*, ed. H. Bloom (New York, 1970); cf. also the very informative anthology *'Romantic' and Its Cognates: The European History of a Word*, ed. Hans Eichner (Toronto, 1972).

[47] Cf., for example, the bibliography prepared by S. A. Zenkovsky for Čyževs'kyj's *History of Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature*, vol. I: *The Romantic Period* (Nashville, 1974).

[48] Cf., for example, Zofia Stefanowska's *Historia i profecja* (Warsaw, 1962); Maria Janion's *Romantyzm: Studia o ideach i stylu* (Warsaw, 1969), and various articles by Maria Żmigrodska.

[49] See, for example, *Problemy romantizma* (Moscow, 1967), and *K istorii russkogo romantizma* (Moscow, 1973. A more recent publication is Ju. V. Mann's *Poetika russkogo romantizma* (Moscow, 1976).

an anthology of Polish poets writing in Ukrainian.[50] None of these is mentioned. From a scholarly standpoint, however, more serious is the omission of various important studies and research tools, such as the two-volume bibliography of Ševčenko criticism, various solid studies on Ševčenko, particularly those of Ivakin and Komyšančenko, the annual Ševčenko Conferences, a *Calendar* of his life and work, etc.[51] What Čyževs'kyj does cite is frequently peripheral and his emphasis misplaced: he mentions K. H. Meyer's minor *Die Ukraine in der polnischen Romantik* but ignores the much more substantive (though still flawed) work of R. F. Kyrčiv; he mentions Hnatjuk's brief article on Tymko Padurra and the Decembrists, but neglects to note that same critic's important study of Kuliš and Michał Grabowski, and their common interest in the Scottian novel.[52] Most often, however, the works listed are peripheral by the very fact that they are badly dated. (One should note here that special attention should be paid to recent full editions of the works of various Ukrainian writers, for these usually contain a more or less extensive selection of their letters. Since archeographic work in Ukrainian literature leaves much to be desired, the epistolary legacy of Ukrainian writers provides an invaluable documentation for their age.)

3.6 The concluding section on Realism summarizes this bibliography. In this newly added chapter Čyževs'kyj treated—and we shall see how, below—Ukrainian literature from Rudans'kyj, Fed'kovyč and Marko Vovčok to Franko and Lesja Ukrajinka. For this whole period his bibliography is as follows: two outdated histories (by Ohnovs'kyj [*sic*] and by Petrov), two contemporary sketches (by Drahomanov

[50] See, for example, *Ukrajins'koju muzoju natxnenni* (Kiev, 1971); *Ukrajins'ka balada: Antolohija* (Kiev, 1964), and H. A. Nud'ha, *Ukrajin'ska balada: Z teoriji ta istoriji žanru* (Kiev, 1970); *Ukrajins'ka dožovtneva bajka* (Kiev, 1966). On the periodical publications see M. D. Bernštejn, *Žurnal 'Osnova' i ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj proces kincja 50-x—60-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959), I. Z. Bojko, ed., *Ukrajins'ki literaturni al'manaxy i zbirnyky (XIX počatok XX st.): Bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk* (Kiev, 1967), and V. Dmytruk, *Narys z istoriji ukrajins'koji žurnalistyky XIX st.* (L'viv, 1969).

[51] See, above all, Ju. O. Ivakin, *Komentar do "Kobzarja" Ševčenka*, [vol. 1] *Poeziji do zaslannja* (Kiev, 1964), and [vol. 2] *Poeziji 1847-1861 rr.* (Kiev, 1968), and M. P. Komyšančenko, *Z istorii ukrajins'koho ševčenkoznavstva* (Kiev, 1972). Cf. also T. H. Ševčenko, *Bibliohrafija literatury pro žyttja i tvorčist', 1839-1959*, vols. 1 and 2 (Kiev, 1963).

[52] See R. F. Kyrčiv, *Ukrajins'kyj fol'klor u pol's'kij literaturi: Period romantyzmu* (Kiev, 1971); see also V. Hnatjuk, "Pol's'kyj literator M. A. Hrabovs'kyj i joho pryjateljuvannja z P. O. Kulišem," *Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu [Vse]ukrajins'koji akademiji nauk* (Kiev) (hereafter *ZIFV-[V]UAN*), vols. 19 (1928) and 23 (1929).

and Franko), Jefremov's history (which had already been cited under "General Histories"), Zerov's *Vid Kuliša do Vynnyčenka*, D. S. Čalyj on *Stanovlennja realizmu* and M. D. Bernštejn on the literary criticism from the 1850s to the 1870s—and that is all.

One is at a loss to see how this contributes to a "scholarly account," a "reference guide" or a "critical interpretation."[53] If anything, it is the stuff of academic anecdotes.

4. If the bibliography at the end raises some questions about the author's approach, the introductory chapter reveals some of Čyževs'kyj's premises in the writing of this book. It shows that this history was conceived above all as an antidote and corrective to the various histories of Ukrainian literature that preceded it. To be sure, Čyževs'kyj never states this explicitly; what he does is to promise to utilize all the previous "achievements" or "employ the scholarship" of the various schools of literary history, while noting at the same time that "attention will be focused on those problems that have not as yet been sufficiently studied—questions of form and periodization" (8). Form and periodization are indeed central for Čyževs'kyj, but the promise of a synthetic stance is not born out; there is little evidence to show that he implements the ideas of earlier schools of criticism. But what are these schools? In his brief synopsis Čyževs'kyj mentions such post-Romantic schools as the "philological" (e.g., Ohonovs'kyj, Petrov, Daškevyč), the "socio-political" (both "populist" and "Marxist"), the "historical," the "comparativist," and finally the "formalist." (The terms "historical" and "comparativist" are actually misleading coinages of our translators. Čyževs'kyj, in fact, speaks repeatedly of a *Geistesgeschichte* approach [*duxovno-istoryčnyj naprjam*] and of a "searching for influences." The latter especially should not be confused with comparativism.) With the exception of the last, the "formalist," Čyževs'kyj is quite critical of these approaches. Moreover, some of them were only marginally applied to the history of Ukrainian literature (e.g., the *Geistesgeschichte* of Buslaev). Of the various histories mentioned, only Hruševs'kyj's meets with Čyževs'kyj's approval, but it, of course,

[53] A much more comprehensive bibliography is contained in the entry for Ukrainian literature in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (vol. 1 [Toronto, 1963], pp. 960-1097), for which Čyževs'kyj wrote the articles for the period covered in the original *Istorija ukrains'koji literatury*. Although at times quite unselective, the bibliography in this encyclopedia entry is by far more scholarly than the one proposed here.

does not go beyond the beginning of the seventeenth century. The bulk of Ukrainian literary scholarship was written from what Čyževs'kyj calls the "socio-political" perspective, and the only modern history spanning the length of Ukrainian literature was a work epitomizing this approach, namely, Serhij Jefremov's very popular *Istorija ukrains'koho pys'menstva* which appeared in four editions between 1905 and 1922. This work looms large on the critical horizon for Čyževs'kyj, and his *History*, by all indications, seems to be conceived as a rebuttal to Jefremov and the critical tradition he represents, with its origins going back to Belinskij, Franko and Hrinčenko. This opposition can be deduced not only from the historical state of affairs, i.e., from the fact that Ukrainian literary scholarship of the first decades of the twentieth century had indeed been greatly affected by populist, "socio-political" conceptions championed by Jefremov, but also from pervasive internal evidence. In a very real sense, Čyževs'kyj's *History* is a covert though coherent polemic against Jefremov and the ideas he stands for. Thus, the initial and persistent emphasis on literature as an art form to be judged by formal and intrinsic criteria is in direct contrast to Jefremov's (and his predecessors') notion of literature as, on the one hand, a reflection of social forces and political-ideological positions, and, on the other, of literature as an agent of change and progress and hence a sphere of activity that can adequately be judged precisely by the degree to which it effects such change and progress, or, as Čyževs'kyj ironizes, by the "benefit" it brings "to the 'people,' the 'proletariat,' the 'revolution,' etc." (6).[54] Thus, too, Čyževs'kyj's "intrinsic" and "stylistic" and "international" periodization of Ukrainian literature (Baroque, Classicism, Romanticism, etc.) is an eloquent response to Jefremov's scheme where the range of Ukrainian literature is subsumed by such periods as (1) "the age of national independence (to the end of the fourteenth century)," (2) "the age of national dependence (end of the fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth century)," and (3) "the age of national rebirth" (end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century).[55] These criteria speak for themselves. In the case of a specific period, Čyževs'kyj's defense of

[54] That Jefremov saw literature as just such an agent is illustrated most persuasively by his study of the theme of hunger in Ukrainian literature, "Bez xliba," *ZIFV-[V]UAN*, vol. 51 (1927). Cf. also G. Grabowicz, "Serhij Jefremov jak istoryk ukrajins'koho pys'menstva," *Sučasnist'*, 1976, no. 10 (190).

[55] S. Jefremov, *Istorija ukrains'koho pys'menstva* (Kiev and Leipzig, 1919), pp. 12-13.

Ukrainian Baroque literature, his rejection of the notion that it was "'removed from life,' foreign to the interests of the people, 'scholastic,' of use to no one" (260) is clearly directed against populist (and later "vulgar-Marxist") criteria, but perhaps most of all against Jefremov, who more than any contemporary questioned the value of this literature. In a more general way, Cyževs'kyj's recurrent defense of, and emphasis on, the religious component in Ukrainian literature, be it in the Kievan period, in the Baroque, or in the eighteenth century, is very much in reaction to the positivism and the secularizing populism of such as Jefremov.

The major theses that Čyževs'kyj feels called upon to defend—the need to approach literature as art and not simply as social data, the scholar's obligation to treat the entire spectrum of literary phenomena and not only, e.g., the "progressive" works, the need to guard against ahistorical value judgments—all these are well within the defensive perimeter of even the moderately sophisticated student of literature. They are self-evident and rudimentary truths, especially to the English-speaking public. But this is precisely the rub—Čyževs'kyj's *History* envisions an audience that is still under the sway of Jefremovite concepts. (In actual fact, this is a fair assumption about the general Ukrainian audience, be it in the 1940s, when Čyževs'kyj conceived his book, or in 1956 when it was published, or to a large extent even today.) Čyževs'kyj's task, consequently, is to rectify the deficiencies in the perception of literature that are part and parcel of the cultural legacy of the average Ukrainian *inteligent*. In so doing he can also safely dispense with repeating what is presumably common knowledge. In effect, as a corrective to Jefremov (and again we mean not only Jefremov but the tradition he embodies), the *History* presupposes knowledge of much of the factual data, and quite ignores the customary historical, social, political and cultural background. Czesław Miłosz, author of an admirable English-language history of Polish literature,[56] considered this a courageous methodological decision:

> Perhaps the most remarkable instance of a heroic decision to maintain methodological purity is the history of Ukrainian literature (in Ukrainian) by Professor Dmytro Čyževs'kyj. Geographical, historical, economic and social data is scrupulously avoided; it is a history of styles, but one that is set in an abstract space, reminding us by its absence of earthly reference points of the sky of ideas.

[56] Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (London, 1969).

"But," he continues pointedly,

> Čyževs'kyj wrote for Ukrainians. How should one begin to talk about one's literature if the basic assumption must be that one's readers know nothing—either of geography, or of history, or of any subject pertaining to that realm? Will he not compromise methodological purity for the sake of crudely practical and immediate ends?[57]

Leaving aside for the moment the fundamental question of whether a dissociation of "literature as such" from its "background" is at all possible in a historical treatment, we can readily see that for the present edition the audience has changed, that it is American, or Canadian, or generally English-speaking, and not Ukrainian. It is an audience that, given the total absence of any adequate treatment of the subject, requires a balanced and comprehensive account of the entire course of Ukrainian literature, one that is fleshed out with precisely those "earthly reference points" of which Miłosz speaks, i.e., primarily social and cultural processes, that put the whole subject in a dynamic context, and, in short, make the history of Ukrainian literature real. Instead they are offered a study that largely assumes knowledge of the context, i.e., of such mundane matters as biographical data, of information on historical and cultural events and processes, etc., and focuses on such "intrinsically literary" matters as style, genre, periodization, literary language, etc. An understanding of the latter, however, presupposes the former, the context. And the reader first confronting the complex subject of Ukrainian literature must surely be puzzled to encounter a literature where there are styles and genres and forms, but often no distinct authors, or works, or "background." For the editor and publisher to expect that a work so closely tailored to the needs and expectations of one society and its critical tradition could perform the same function for an

[57] Czesław Miłosz, "O historii polskiej literatury, wolnomyślicielach i masonach," *Kultura* (Paris), 1970, no. 4 (271), p. 4. A bit further on Miłosz makes some acute observations on the pitfalls and the cultural gap facing translations. About Julian Krzyżanowski's *Polish Romanticism* he says "It is a collection of all the banalities that are meant to establish for all time the image of 'la Pologne martyre.' This book elicits bloodthirstry feelings among the readers, as is demonstrated by the copies in Berkeley which have comments in the margins saying in English, 'Good for them!' 'They didn't beat them hard enough!' 'Dwarfs imitating giants!' etc." Of Manfred Kridl's *A Survey of Polish Literature and Culture* he says "It may be that Kridl is the proof that unless a professor becomes disaccustomed to a Polish audience, he will not be able to speak to foreigners" (p. 5). Here, one need only replace the word "Polish" with "Ukrainian."

entirely different one is nothing short of naive. Merely translating the *Istorija*, with no substantive changes or additions, without any consideration of the new audience and context and with no hint of the peculiar goals and circumstances determining the conception of the original, does not, in itself, provide an adequate English-language history of Ukrainian literature. In fact, it is likely to disorient the reader.

Let us illustrate this point.

5. In the same introductory chapter where Čyževs'kyj provides his thumbnail sketch of earlier Ukrainian scholarship, he also deems it necessary to include a section which, in somewhat under six pages, attempts to provide a primer on poetics. To the English-speaking public this section may seem quaint, or incongruous in the extreme—but it is quite consistent with the premises discussed above. Beginning with two paragraphs on language (where he mentions, for example, archaïsms, neologisms, jargon, etc.) and moving on to one- or two-sentence definitions of "tropes and figures" (e.g., metaphor, epithet, alliteration) and concluding with a discussion of the "content" of the work (here the theme and the plot!) Čyževs'kyj provides his audience with the indispensable tools for an adequate literary analysis. For, as he tells us, "Only after an analysis of the form, content and main idea of the work can its place in the historical evolution of literature be defined. This is the goal of the 'synthetic' approach to literary evolution" (13). What is so incongruous and revealing here is the inclusion of this rudimentary information in a book which also deals with rather more sophisticated issues of literary scholarship and literary historiography, and which presents new theses concerning literary-historical periodization, etc. Such absolute ABC's are not to be found in standard histories of literature, not in Krzyżanowski's two histories of Polish literature, nor in Miłosz's, nor Gudzij's, nor Mirsky's—nor, for that matter, in Čyževs'kyj's own history of nineteenth-century Russian literature or his *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*. Significantly, his *History of Russian Literature*, whose first four chapters (more than a third of the book) are virtually identical with the present *History*, also eschews such literary *Kinderstube*. In the older Ukrainian literary-historical tradition, however, such a presentation of the basics is quite common. (This tendency to popularize and to start *ab ovo* is, of course, characteristic of older histories of literature in general. Jefremov, for example, starts with

a programmatic definition of literature—for him the "aesthetic principle" is a tautology, and literature, particularly Ukrainian literature, is the expression of the creative powers of the nation;[58] Hruševs'kyj, too, begins with a discussion of the object of literary study, but his treatment is sophisticated and informative and not in the category of a primer;[59] Voznjak's discussion of the nature of literature is, on the other hand, superficial.) Čyževs'kyj's introduction also follows this pattern, even while his emphasis is different, and his approach conceived as a corrective for earlier efforts.

Čyževs'kyj's sense of his Ukrainian audience and his need to provide it with the most rudimentary knowledge also results in much oversimplification. This tendency, regrettable in any "scholarly account" or "reference guide," is not simply a function of brevity. One may wonder why Čyževs'kyj defines "epithet," "antithesis," or "parallelism," but omits such equally important poetic elements as image, paradox, ambiguity, or the very basic "symbol." To be sure, this may be excused by his express intent to give only examples and not an exhaustive list. Less excusable, however, are faulty definitions, such as the one for metaphor, which is made indistinguishable from simile (and all the examples for which are, in fact, similes; 9). It is still less excusable to call such figures as metaphor, metonymy, etc., "devices of linguistic ornamentation" (9 and passim). That which is the essence of poetic language cannot very well be "ornamentation." Just as infelicitous is Čyževs'kyj's use of the outdated opposition of "form" and "content," especially when the former is the "linguistic ornamentation" and the latter such things as the composition of the work, plot, theme and motif! (The opposition of "form" and "content," while now generally abandoned by critics, can theoretically be utilized to tease out fine philosophical distinctions—provided the analysis is performed with great rigor, as is done by Ingarden. There is no such rigor here.)

Over and above the "form and content," Čyževs'kyj postulates an "idea-content" (13) of the work (in the original this is "idejnyj zmist" [18] and it could perhaps be better translated simply as the "idea" of the work); this "idea-content" is a reflection of the author's worldview, and this "may emerge in the work 'of itself'" or else he may "consciously wish to offer certain ideas and views to his

[58] Jefremov, *Istorija ukrajins'koho pysmenstva*, pp. 6-12 and passim.
[59] Hruševs'kyj basically devotes the entire first volume to this issue; cf. *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vols. 1-5 (New York, 1959).

reader. In such cases we refer to the *tendentiousness* of the work." Thereupon we are told that *Son* and *Neofity* "are typical of Ševčenko's tendentious works" (13).

Perhaps these and similar notions could be elaborated to say something meaningful, but as they stand now they are greatly overgeneralized and oversimplified. Again one must observe that the editor could only have done Čyževs'kyj a service by recognizing this whole section for what it is and simply deleting it. Instead, the embarrassment is only compounded by the translators. When, for example, Čyževs'kyj speaks of a "vyšča interpretacja" (19) he seems to be referring to the philosophical and historical "higher criticism" originating in Germany in the late eighteenth century; the translators, however, apparently know nothing of this and attempt to muddle through with "interpretation of [the work's] meaning" (13). When Čyževs'kyj speaks of "commonplaces" (*zahal'ni miscja, loci communes*; 16) they repeatedly translate this as "direct narration" (10).

One important qualification must be made here, however. It rests on the fact that Čyževs'kyj himself at one point calls his *History* "popular scholarship," ([*tvir*] *naukovo-popularnoho xarakteru*; 39). He says this in passing but his meaning is clear, and it is corroborated by the evidence. (The translation deletes this reference; 34-35.) Our expectation of scholarly rigor and completeness must perforce be modified when the work in question intentionally adapts its scholarship to a popular form. On the other hand, the English version of the *History* admits to no such qualification, and it is to this version, purporting to be the last word in Ukrainian historico-literary scholarship, that we are addressing ourselves. Ultimately, however, these are secondary matters, for the most interesting and most pertinent aspects of Čyževs'kyj's book are his theory of literary history and his theoretical conception of Ukrainian literature, and this is basically unaffected by the mode of his presentation.

IV. THE ARGUMENT OF THE *HISTORY*

The *History* treats its subject according to eight distinct periods: (1) the period of Monumental Style (70 pp.), (2) the period of Ornamental Style (88 pp.), (3) the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (9 pp.), (4) the Renaissance and Reformation (23 pp.), (5) the Baroque (102 pp.), (6) Classicism (64 pp.), (7) Romanticism (147 pp.), and (8) Real-

ism (30 pp.). Interspersed with these are seven "minor" or ancillary chapters: (1) the Introduction (16 pp.), (2) the Pre-historic period (20 pp.), (3) Translated and Borrowed Literature (26 pp.), (4) Literature written in Latin (3 pp.), (5) Literature of "National Revival" (3 pp.), (6) Ukrainian Sentimentalism (2 pp.), and (7) "Biedermeier" and the "Naturalist (*sic*) School" in the Ukraine (3 pp.). Judging solely by the yardstick of space allotted, it is evident that the oldest period of Ukrainian literature, from the beginnings to the end of the thirteenth century, is of prime importance for Čyževs'kyj since it occupies slightly more than one-third of his entire account (over 200 pp.). (It is made even weightier by the relatively fewer quotations in this section.) The period from the fourteenth century to the end of Classicism, with the Baroque taking the lion's share, also accounts for more than a third. Finally, Romanticism and Realism, and, to be sure, the "Biedermeier" and "Naturalist School," make up the remaining smaller section. Apart from questions of merit, this scheme is interesting for the way it neatly reverses the traditional emphasis of Jefremov, or of the eight-volume Soviet history, for which the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century, i.e., "Romanticism" and "Realism," dominate the entire history. This, too, may perhaps be seen as a covert rebuttal of existing approaches. And one cannot but notice that in this scheme the attention given to "Realism" is disproportionately small. (On methodological grounds, the decision to take the three-to-four-page sections which Čyževs'kyj had called "excursuses" in the original and turn them into full-fledged "chapters" is rather questionable.)

A. "PREHISTORY"

The first chapter, on Prehistory, begins with a very traditional problem, namely, the question of the origin or "roots" of literature in oral literature and "folklore."[59] Čyževs'kyj, however, refrains from the traditional speculation and argues persuasively that, contrary to what the Romantics believed, little can be deduced about the "ancient oral tradition" of, say, the eleventh century, on the basis of modern (eighteenth- and nineteenth-century) folk texts (17 and passim). While this is true, in his formulation Čyževs'kyj repeats a most common misconception: like virtually all who wrote on the subject, be they pre-Revolutionary or post-Revolutionary, Soviet or non-Soviet, he

fails to distinguish between oral literature and tradition as such, and folklore. The two are not synonymous, especially in the period in question. (Hruševs'kyj, who treats the interrelation of written and oral literature with great subtlety and depth, also does not make a clear distinction between oral literature and folklore; however, he consistently speaks of *ustna*, not *narodna, slovesnist'*.)[60] The essential point of difference is that folklore is the creativity that is produced and nurtured by the "folk"—the "peasantry," the "people," or (in the very loose and misleading Ukrainian and Russian terminologies) the *narod*, or, still later, also the city proletariat—and this folk culture is parallel to and distinct from "high" or "elite" culture. Oral literature, on the other hand, while largely falling within the domain of folklore, especially in recent times, is not at all to be defined by the latter; it can very well be the product of high culture. The Homeric epics, for example, are demonstrably oral compositions[61]—but they are certainly not folklore. Moreover, generally speaking one has no tools for dealing concretely with the problem of folklore, i.e., the creativity of the "humble folk," the *narod*, prior to the eighteenth or at least the seventeenth century when the texts were first recorded. In our instance, when we know so little of the social structure of Kievan Rus' in, let us say, the eleventh century, there is little solid ground on which to stand when speaking of folklore. There is even less justification for associating singers who, as Čyževs'kyj himself notes, "were kept at the courts of princes and their retainers" (18), with folklore. This is merely confusing. To be sure, Soviet critics (especially Soviet Ukrainian critics) with their notion of the "progressive" (in fact, metaphysical) nature of the *narod*'s creativity, and with their exaggerated emphasis on it, are much the worse offenders; for Čyževs'kyj folklore and oral literature are really quite peripheral. Nevertheless, a proper understanding of these phenomena and the distinctions involved is very important for Ukrainian literature, a literature in whose historical development the relationship between "high" and "low" culture and between written and oral works played a crucial and determining role.

[60] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 1: 21-25 and passim.
[61] See Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

B. "TRANSLATED AND BORROWED LITERATURE"

1. A different issue appears in Čyževs'kyj's next chapter, "Translated and Borrowed Literature." Most of this literature came from Byzantium, and the influence of Byzantine literature on old Kievan literature in general, not only in terms of translations and "borrowings," can hardly be overestimated. Čyževs'kyj's account of this influence, subdivided according to genre (liturgical books, canonical and apocryphal religious literature, secular literature, etc.) is informative and reasonably concise. (The analogous account in the *History of Russian Literature* is more concise and somewhat better proportioned; while its paraphrases of contents are shorter, the context is clearer. At times it also gives more information, for example, about the "Xoždenie Zosymy do raxmaniv"; failure to mention this work in the Ukrainian *History* is unfortunate since it has interesting implications for Ukrainian—Hutsul—folklore, and, for that matter, for Hassidic folklore, and is, in fact, the major point of contact between the two traditions.)[62]

2. What should be the central issue for this chapter and for the "Byzantinist period," as old Kievan literature has been called,[63] is the nature of the influence, the nature of the literature that Byzantium was giving the newly civilized Slavs. For Čyževs'kyj this question is answered in one sentence: "In large part these translated works were of early Christian or Helleno-Christian origin; uniquely Byzantine influences did exist but they were not dominant" (39). And this is most inadequate. As we see from an article by O. Bilec'kyj (1959) and a subsequent, more detailed article by I. Eremin (1964), there is a deeply significant and historically portentous relationship that is at work here.[64] For, as Eremin reminds us, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Byzantine literature was undergoing a splendid

[62] Professor Dov Noy of Hebrew University discussed this connection in his paper "Ukrainian-Hucul Folklore in the Hasidic Legends of Rabbi Israel Ba'al-Shem-Tov," presented in the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University, 17 December 1976. A résumé of the talk appears in the *Minutes* of the Seminar for the 1976-77 academic year (vol. 7, pp. 39-41).

[63] Cf. Šerex [Shevelov], "Na rystovannjax istoriji literatury," and below.

[64] Cf. O. Bilec'kyj, "Perekladna literatura vizantijs'ko-bolhars'koho poxodžennja," *Zibrannja prac' u p''jaty tomax*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1965), pp. 128-87, and I. P. Eremin, "O vizantijskom vlijanii v bolgarskoj i drevnerusskoj literaturax IX-XII vv.," *Literatura drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1966), pp. 9-17.

"Renaissance." It was a time of lively interest in classical antiquity, in poetry, prose and philosophy, in history (Thycidides and Polibius, Herodotus and Xenophon), and in secular satire (on the model of Lucian); it was a time when secular and church authorities studied and commented Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aristophanes and Menander, when Plato and Aristotle were studied, and when religious literature was expanded to include exegesis and polemics.[65] "And yet," Eremin continues,

> this broad range of socio-literary activity in 11th-12th century Byzantium passed without leaving a trace on contemporary Rus'. Not one of the more or less notable Byzantine authors of that period was translated, not even the most outstanding—Michael Psellus (1018-1078), theologian and philosopher, historian and philologist, orator and poet.[66]

What Rus' received, in fact, was a vast amount of medieval *Reader's Digests*, various compilations, condensations, anthologies and selections. It got the *Paroemenarium* (selection of quotations for divine service) and the *Triodion* (collection of church songs), the Patericons and apocrypha, and such works on "natural science" as the *Hexaemerons* and the *Physiologus*, in short, the whole gamut of popular, "low-brow" literature. Where the Byzantines could study the historiosophy of Thycidides, the East Slavs were offered the chronicles of Malalas, for whom the past is an anecdotal grab-bag, where Paris is a scholar and a panegyrist to Venus; if in Constantinople one could read the *Physics* of Aristotle, in Kiev one had to do with the *Physiologus* and learn about the phoenix that lives five hundred years without food.[67] There were also, to be sure, translations from the fourth- to sixth-century Greek church fathers, the sermons of John Chrysostomos, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianus, the theology of John Damascene, etc., but mass literature predominated, and it also modelled the presentation of the religious literature, i.e., by way of anthologies—in the *Zlatoust*, *Margarit*, *Izmaragd*, etc.

The pattern of cultural imperialism is obvious enough. As Bilec'kyj puts it, "Only that was translated which was absolutely indispensable for the new Christian cult, or that which in its properties and content would further the hegemony of Byzantine culture over the

[65] Eremin, "O vizantijskom vlijanii," pp. 9-10.
[66] Eremin, "O vizantijskom vlijanii," p. 10.
[67] Cf. Bilec'kyj, "Perekladna literatura," p. 129.

'barbarians' that it was civilizing."[68] It is somewhat remarkable that this is highlighted by Soviet scholars who as a rule are most reluctant to admit to any such inferiority (the standard history by Gudzij, for example, glosses over this aspect).[69] For his part, Čyževs'kyj in presenting this literature confines himself to apologetics for its religious coloration. This is evident throughout, but one can focus on one important moment. In his opening remarks in the section on "Secular Literature" he notes,

> The "secular" nature of the translated literature in general and the scholarly works in particular is only relative. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the belief that total harmony did and ought to exist between religion and other spheres of knowledge was so strong that any issue could be resolved merely by reference to Christian dogma or the Holy Scriptures. Thus, while many of the scholarly works of the Kievan period may now appear to have too great a religious and ecclesiastical coloration, in their historical context they satisfied the requirements of scholarship. However, most of the "scholarship" of Kievan Rus' with the possible exception of theological works, was exclusively of the popular variety. (49)

To say of these works that "in their historical context they satisfied the requirements of scholarship" is simply tautologous. It is precisely the task of the historian to determine *what kind of scholarship* it was and how it compared to other models of scholarship (i.e., in Byzantium, the West, etc.). Similarly, the last two statements leave the ambivalence of scholarship / popular scholarship unresolved; they leave begging such questions as the reason for and the function of such a state of affairs, and above all, they leave unanswered the very basic question of the legacy of such "scholarship" and of such a relationship between the religious and the secular. These issues lie at the

[68] Bilec'kyj, "Perekladna literatura," p. 130. Ihor Ševčenko puts the case just as strongly:

> Baptism did change the barbarians, those bestial creatures, into human beings, but the mere fact of the barbarians' conversion was indeed a miracle. How else could they have changed from animals into our brothers? True enough, when the going was rough, one would try to mollify the newly converted barbarian adversary by appealing to the recently achieved community of faith. But, on the whole, barbaric nations, as opposed to individual barbarians, were too despised to be genuinely accepted into the community of Byzantine civilization, even after they had accepted baptism.—

"Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission," *Slavic Review* 23, no. 2 (June 1964): 226-27.

[69] Cf. N. K. Gudzij, *Istorija drevnej russkoj literatury* (Moscow, 1966), p. 24 and passim.

very root of the Ukrainian and generally East Slavic cultural experience, and every history, and history of literature, must begin here.[70] Regrettably, Čyževs'kyj avoids this issue.

C. THE PERIODS OF "MONUMENTAL" AND "ORNAMENTAL" STYLE

1. The treatment of old Kievan literature of the eleventh to thirteenth century is extensive (about one-third of the entire *History*, as we have noted) and quite representative of Čyževs'kyj's method and approach. As he will throughout, he treats the material almost exclusively under the rubric of various genres—sermons, the tale, chronicles, the epos, etc.—and brackets the whole with a general characterization of the period at the outset and a synthesizing conclusion at the end. The approach by genres holds true even if the given category or "slot" is "empty" of concrete works, which is the case with the "epos" in both subdivisions of this period. In itself, such a discussion of "empty slots" is not invalid—it was done at great length and provocatively, if speculatively, by Hruševs'kyj—but it is characteristic of Čyževs'kyj to posit a "full complement" of such categories (slots) for each period.

2. For the most part, the literature of this period is treated *sub speciae* of several key works, e.g., the *Igor' Tale*, the Life of Theodosius, the *Supplication of Daniel.* The author and the circumstances of the writing figure hardly at all in the discussion, and, to be sure, this is largely valid for a period where there is little if any biographical data available, and where the literature, by its very nature, is supra-individual, emphasizing community, tradition and convention. As Lixačev puts it, this literature "was an art form created by means of the accretion of collective experience; it achieved tremendous effect by the wisdom of its traditions and the basically anonymous unity of its writing."[71] As we shall see, anonymity will return as a problematical issue in later periods.

[70] Cf. the very interesting prologomena to Ukrainian cultural history of O. Zilyns'kyj [Zelyns'kyj], "Duxova heneza peršoho ukrajins'koho vidrodžennja," *Steži* 1, no. 7-8 (Nov. 1946-Feb. 1947): 6-20.

[71] D. S. Lixačev, Introduction to "*Izbornik*": *Sbornik proizvedenij literatury drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1969), p. 7.

3. Undoubtedly the major question raised by Čyževs'kyj's approach here stems from his subdivision of the literature of Kievan Rus' into two distinct periods, the "Monumental" (for the eleventh century) and the "Ornamental" (for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). In this he is rather isolated, for the majority of scholars, Soviet and non-Soviet, do not agree. For Bilec'kyj, for example, this is seen as the imposition of a "formalist," largely *a priori* scheme. He questions the apparent inconsistencies, as when the sermons of Serapion, bishop of Vladimir, are taken as expressive of the "ornamental style" in spite of the fact that Čyževs'kyj himself speaks of their "moral severity" and thematic monolithism.[72] (A similar rebuttal concerning Čyževs'kyj's reading of the *Igor' Tale* becomes side-tracked by the extraneous criterion of its "patriotism.")[73] The Western critic Jurij Šerex [Shevelov], however, also has reservations about the schematic pigeonholing of individual writers ostensibly by "style" but in fact by chronology. He says, for example, that "despite all of Čyževs'kyj's qualifications, and in contrast to the chronology, I would relate Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace* to the ornamental style, and the works of Serapion (151) and Simon (161) to the monumental." In a more general and more substantive vein Šerex observes (as previously noted) that "both styles of Kievan Rus'—the monumental and the ornamental—came from Byzantium." "It is for this reason," he continues, "that I applied the term Byzantinism to them. Čyževs'kyj does not have this term. I thought it possible to coin it by analogy to the Romance style in art. I would consider both of these styles [monumental and ornamental] as variants of one style, not following one after the other but simultaneous, parallel and dependent on the character and cultural level of the author."[74] Finally, it is interesting to note that the notion of a "monumental style" in old Kievan literature (and culture) has even found an adherent in Soviet scholarship, i.e., in Lixačev, but again it is applied to the entire period of the eleventh to thirteenth century.

4. In the matter of specific works and writers Čyževs'kyj's discussion suffers from his tendency to isolate the literary work from its social and especially political context. While this is, of course, a general tendency, it is particularly questionable for a period and culture

[72] Cf. Bilec'kyj, "Perekladna literatura," 1: 124.
[73] Bilec'kyj, "Perekladna literatura," 1: 124.
[74] Šerex [Shevelov], "Na rystovannjax istoriji literatury," p. 2.

where, as Čyževs'kyj is first to admit, literature and the writer have no autonomous status, and where meaning and indeed form are determined by the work's function, which is its ideology. This also affects the work's chances of survival. Thus, the fact that the life of Antonius of the Kievan Caves Monastery has not been preserved was undoubtedly caused by the political reaction to the pro-Byzantine faction with which he was associated. Similarly, the perspective, the interpretation and the content of the chronicles, the lives and the tales were strongly, if not entirely, determined by the political orientation of the writer, be he writing at court or in a monastery (which, of course, also had its orientation).[75] Thus Čyževs'kyj is not persuasive when he tells us that it is unfair to reprove Nestor for inventing facts, since "it is hardly possible that a pious writer such as Nestor, who assures his reader that he is recounting only what he has heard from the *Xristoljubci*, would falsify facts" (92-93).

5. Perhaps the most striking instance of a traditionally naive reading relates to the outstanding work of the period, the *Igor' Tale*. After an extensive analysis (in which he compares it to other epics but, in contrast to the translators, never calls it that)[76] Čyževs'kyj turns to the unknown author. From the discussion (cf. 208-209), one can infer that he envisions (or at least entertains the notion of) the author as a "bard," like Halban in *Konrad Wallenrod.* This Ossianic conception was understandable for the first critics and enthusiasts of the newly discovered *Slovo*, but it no longer suffices. Recent scholarship (Eremin) has demonstrated that the composition of the work clearly follows the bookish tradition of a *slovo*;[77] still more recent scholarship (Pritsak) has given us a closely argued dating for the work—1199-1201, with the actual date most probably 1201—and even more importantly, has shown that the *Igor' Tale* was above all a work finely attuned to Rus'ian dynastic politics, a work of a court writer—not an eyewitness, but a retainer working with a revised official version of the campaign—engaged to further the political aspirations of his patron, first Igor' Svjatoslavič and then (in the epilogue) following his unexpected death in 1201, his son Volodimer.[78] These

[75] See Omeljan Pritsak, "'The Caves Monastery Collection' and the 'Tale of Bygone Years,'" forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies.*
[76] See above.
[77] Eremin, "Žanrovaja priroda 'Slova o polku Igoreve,'" in *Literatura drevnej Rusi.*
[78] Omeljan Pritsak, "The *Igor' Tale* as a Historical Document," *Annals of the*

mundane realia, one may submit, give us not only a truer picture but a much more exciting one than that projected by the repeated vague banalities about the author's alleged prowess as hunter or warrior, or, especially, about his "patriotism." (The latter criterion is, of course, much more the domain of Soviet critics than of Čyževs'kyj.)

6. Čyževs'kyj's comprehensive discussion of this period may, of course, elicit reservations at various points. Despite the rather detailed paraphrase of the content of Nestor's *Life of Theodosius*, for example, the analysis seems to miss some central moments, e.g., the dynamics and the symbolism of Theodosius' conflict with his mother (in the first part of the *Life*).[79] And in general, here as throughout the book, the great emphasis on surface formal properties, i.e., long passages and even pages illustrating alliteration or some other euphonic device, when made at the expense not only of "background" but of deeper and no less "formal" properties, as of symbolic patterns and semantic levels, makes for a poor exchange.[80] One must also confront the fact that in the comparable space allotted to him, Gudzij in his *History* gives a much fuller account of this period, and, to be sure, of the scholarship on it. But it is Čyževs'kyj's conclusions, the synthesis and perspective provided in the section "The Significance of the Literature of Kievan Rus'" (222-25), that are most troubling. Apart from the opening apologia for the literature of this period, a "Ukrainian excursus" that is quite out of place in this edition, the main problem is that Čyževs'kyj broaches fundamental issues and then leaves them unresolved. Thus he speaks of old Kievan literature as a great flowering that had "the most profound effect on the development of the character and the peculiar historical strengths of a nation" (222), and he also notes that this period had its weaknesses and deficiencies, above all, as he sees it, the near total absence of scholarship, of scientific writing, and even of theology. Such "flawed flowerings" may indeed be possible (and Čyževs'kyj intimates one such problem area when he speaks of the merits of adopting "an artificial Slavic literary language"), but rather than merely noting its existence it would be more fruitful to put it in a

Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., vol. 12 (1969-1972), nos. 1-2 (33-44).

[79] Cf. Eremin, "K xarakteristike Nestora kak pisatelja," in *Literatura drevnej Rusi*.

[80] In this and other respects, Eremin's treatment (fn. 79) is much more satisfactory.

historical perspective. For all the genuine achievements of the Kievan period, the fact of the East Slavs falling into the Byzantine cultural sphere of influence, and receiving only the low, mass version of this culture, was a disaster from which they, and specifically the Ukrainian people, never fully recovered. The West European "Renaissance without Humanism" of the twelfth century never took place on the Ukrainian territories. Even more, as Zilyns'kyj's above-mentioned article so forcefully argues, adoption of the Byzantine religious worldview—i.e., its transcendental idealism, agnosticism, impersonalism, and, above all, ahistoricism and predestinationalism—and their adoption in the absence of Byzantine culture, legitimacy and the real power of the state, inevitably led to the collapse of Ukrainian society and cultural life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when confronted by the energetic, Western-oriented neighbors, Lithuania and Poland.[81] When a revival did occur it was *in spite of*, not because of, the Byzantine legacy. Čyževs'kyj's claim that "it was precisely the traditions of old Kievan literature that made the later cultural revivals possible—both the unexpected, but less brilliant, renaissance of the Cossack era as well as that of the nineteenth century (on a different linguistic base)" (223) is very unpersuasive. (Unless, of course, he means this, as he probably does, quite ahistorically and metaphysically—as the creation of a national "soul" impervious to the historical process.)[82] In fact, Ukrainian Baroque literature drew its inspiration primarily from the West, from Poland, as Čyževs'kyj himself notes, and the "discovery" of the Kievan legacy occurred in the 1620s, well after the initial stirrings of revival at the end of the sixteenth century, and as a search for legitimacy, not as a model or source of inspiration. It is rather the absence of any true Renaissance in Ukrainian cultural life and the selective and "scholastic" nature of the Ukrainian Baroque that can be credited to the early Byzantinist period.

D. "THE LITERATURE OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES"

The chapter dealing with this period begins with the statement that the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into the Lithuanian and

[81] Zilyns'kyj, "Duxova heneza peršoho ukrajins'koho vidrodžennja," p. 11 and passim.
[82] As much is suggested by the preceding sentence: "This spiritual preparation, this initial flowering, could not be erased even by those centuries which were less favorable for literary development."

Polish kingdoms "undoubtedly [was] at least partially responsible for the cultural decline" (226), but why this should be so is not at all clear. The Ukrainian-Belorussian language, for example, was the official language of the Lithuanian state, and Rus' culture was still the more highly developed. The reason for the decline was probably internal, as suggested above, and not external: missing was the cement that could hold society together, and religious dogma and traditionalism, the only heritage of Eastern Christianity, could not substitute for it, nor could they provide the necessary resilience for change. It was not that the "Metropolitanate was moved to Moscow" (226) as the translators have it (implying some sinister agency?), it was rather that the Metropolitan Petro of Rata moved there himself in the 1320s, most probably to further his career.[83] The reasons for this and for the whole melancholy period of "wasted years" are quite complex and can hardly be presented here. They stem from both the geo-political and cultural position of the Ukrainian lands and from the workings of the cultural legacy.

E. "RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION"

1. The chapter on the Renaissance and Reformation introduces new issues and some new problems. Characteristically, Čyževs'kyj begins with a discussion of the European Renaissance in general and then its role in Ukrainian literature in particular. What is immediately apparent, however, is that his approach to the Renaissance is rather polemical and hostile. Under three categories which he deems most important—the Renaissance "Classical ideal of beauty as harmony and balance," the "'discovery' and 'liberation' of man," and the "'rediscovery' of nature"—Čyževs'kyj proceeds to rebut the Renaissance and to "rehabilitate" at its expense the preceding Middle Ages and the coming Baroque. This is a very questionable procedure. For one thing, his interpretations are rather biased and do not objectively describe, let alone analyze, the nature and meaning of the Renaissance. For example: "The Renaissance certainly did 'liberate' man but it failed to ask the all-important question: did this 'liberation' from the authority of the Church and frequently also from all moral and social authority really lead to the 'discovery' of man's essence, or was it merely a digression from the true path to this goal?" (237). For

[83] Cf. M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 3 (New York, 1956), p. 271.

another, such a polemic against, of all things, a *period* in man's cultural history is, from the perspective of scholarship, a somewhat unorthodox procedure.[84] The most important feature of the Renaissance, namely, secularization and the birth of individualism and intellectual emancipation, are conceded grudgingly (with quotation marks around most terms) if at all; a sharp opposition is drawn between the Renaissance and religion, whereas in fact the Renaissance grew out from a religious renewal (e.g., St. Francis of Assisi) and was a rejection of dogma, otherworldliness and asceticism, and an affirmation of individual religious feeling and experience. Another essential aspect, the material basis of the Renaissance, the commercial ground providing patronage for the arts as well as the national-political revival (particularly in Italy) is also ignored.[85]

Both elements are quite absent from the Ukrainian sphere, and Čyževs'kyj notes this, but one is almost led to wonder whether his very definition of the Renaissance is not tailored to fit (and "exculpate") the Ukrainian cultural model with its deeper roots in the Byzantine and Baroque periods.

2. The most important consideration, however, which applies to the entire chapter, not just its introductory section, is that the Ukraine was at this time fully a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and that the Renaissance, Humanism, and the Reformation constituted an extremely vibrant and fruitful phase in the cultural life of

[84] Cf. these passages:

> For the Renaissance, there remained only dreams of contributions already made by those representatives of "late scholasticism" at the Sorbonne and elsewhere, towards whom the man of the Renaissance had to take a hostile stance, but which were later rediscovered by those who rejected a large portion of the "achievements" of the Renaissance and made an attempt to revitalize "the old," i.e., many of the most important ideals of the Middle Ages; these were men of the Baroque period, whose contributions to science were far greater than those of the exalted Renaissance Man (p. 238);

or:

> ... the accomplishments of the Renaissance were unable to satisfy even its sixteenth century followers. The Renaissance sought "enthusiasm," but was able to cultivate only a rather cool rhetoric; it sought a superior, universally developed man, but egoism, amorality, and anarchy were the only results; the Renaissance set itself as a goal the exploration of nature, but natural science in the Renaissance remained in a kind of wonderland, patronizing magic, alchemy, and astrology. The Renaissance sharply criticized the superstitions and prejudices of earlier times, but itself remained under the influence of superstitions of a more modern variety (p. 238).

[85] Cf. Zygmunt Łempicki, *Wybór pism*, vol. 1: *Renesans, Oświecenie, Romantyzm* (Warsaw, 1966), especially pp. 82-91.

that multinational state. This, too, is not fully developed here. To be sure, Čyževs'kyj does not minimize the inertia and resistance to change, especially to secularization, of the majority of Ukrainian society, nor the hold over it of the old Byzantine traditions. One is inclined to agree when he says that "There is no doubt that the influences of the Renaissance and Reformation in the Ukraine were more widespread and more deeply felt in day-to-day life, and especially in the lives of individual people, than in literature" (241). But the matter should not be left where he leaves it: "Ukrainian literature of the sixteenth century not only manifested very few elements of the Renaissance and Reformation, but was also of limited significance as a whole"; and turning to the past and future ("There is no need to conceal this fact, in view of the magnificent literature of the Kievan and Baroque periods"; 241) does not obviate the need to look squarely at the present, i.e., the period in question. For as some recent, though still incomplete and unsystematized, research has shown, there was considerable involvement by Ukrainians in the active mainstream of the cultural life of the multinational Commonwealth.[86] A perspective must be found on the cultural picture. As B. Krawciw noted,

> Ukrainian society ... in the 15th-16th centuries in Poland and the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state cannot be confined only to the Ukrainian-speaking burghers, the clergy and the peasants, and in time the Cossacks, who in the best of circumstances were led by a small group of orthodox gentry—something which was done by S. Jefremov, at times by M. Hruševs'kyj, and others. Along with the above named social strata (estates) there was also a large stratum of gentry and magnates (former boyars and princes) who though Catholicized and Polonized still had not broken with the Rus' nation and faith.[87]

Correlatively with this, the literary output of such a broadly conceived Ukrainian society cannot be confined only to what was written in Ukrainian (i.e., Church Slavonic or bookish Ukrainian) but must include works written in Polish and Latin. Finally, as Krawciw observed, it is clear that a significant role in Ukrainian cultural life was played by various cultural centers, not only on Ukrainian territories, such as L'viv and Zamost' and Ostroh, but also in Poland proper, i.e., Cracow. The analogy between Cracow in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with its numerous Ukrainian students and lecturers and St. Petersburg in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is obvious, and it should be investigated further.

[86] Kravciv [Krawciw], "Renesans i humanism na Ukrajini."
[87] Kravciv [Krawciw], "Renesans i humanism na Ukrajini."

3. At the end of this chapter Čyževs'kyj turns to a rather different phenomenon—the *dumy*. Unfortunately, he misstates the issue at the outset when he introduces them as "a new type of folk song" (256). As with the old epos, with which the *dumy* are contrasted, this results from confusing oral with folk poetry. The major difference is that there is a fairly large corpus of *dumy*, which, though collected much later, still gives us the basis for establishing their properties and structure; and this, given the important role they played in later Ukrainian literature, especially poetry, is a matter of some priority. A thorough study of the *dumy* will almost certainly show that they are not folk poetry, arising from a local milieu and perspective, but poetry which reflects an entire "national" ethos, a sense of history, and encompasses various milieus—the church (as reflected in the moral injunctions), the military, the settled agricultural classes, etc. It will also probably show that analysis and classification of the *dumy* cannot rest on conventional approaches (for example, their subdivision by manifest thematic content, or the still more superficial device of dividing them into "those with 'anonymous' heroes, and those whose heroes are named"; 257), but must attempt to decode their complex symbolic structure, and on this basis establish a new classification.

F. "BAROQUE"

1. As indicated above, the chapter on the Baroque is one of the longest in the *History*, and well it should be, for the Ukrainian Baroque, like the Polish Baroque on which it drew so much, was not only an inordinately long-lived phenomenon, lasting for the better part of two centuries, from the time of Vyšens'kyj to Skovoroda, but was also a period of much literary and cultural activity. Yet despite the extended focus, in spite of Čyževs'kyj's unquestionable authority in matters dealing with the Baroque, and in spite of the generally illuminating opening discussion of the concept of the Baroque and of its formal characteristics, the chapter is disappointing. It disappoints, first of all, by the fact that the entire period of close to two hundred years is seen in total stasis. To be sure, Čyževs'kyj refers to stages in the European Baroque (Gongorism, Mannerism, Rococo) and he observes, quite correctly, that analogous stylistic changes were not in evidence in Ukrainian literature, but this, and the statement that "Some time after 1680, Ukrainian literature experienced a period in which the style was unusually flowery, overburdened with

formal decorative elements ..." (277), is all that is said about any possible internal dynamics in the literature of the period. There are a few scattered references to the development of this or that device or genre, e.g., a brief comment on the development of dialogues in drama (329) or a discussion of the evolution of the sermon (334-43). But the whole of Ukrainian literature and literary life in this period is frozen into an abstract, non-temporal scheme; Klymentij Zinoviev, Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, Prokopovyč, Skovoroda, all exist synchronously, because, apparently, their Baroque style was one. And style is the only basic criterion for periodization, and the macro-periodization of Renaissance-Baroque-Classicism, etc., is virtually the only concession to the historical dimension. Without necessarily arguing for a division into "early" and "late" Baroque (or a "monumental" and "ornamental" Baroque) one can still distinguish several significant lines of development, and these developments, one may argue, are at least as worthy of attention in a history of literature as are stylistic changes.

We are not altogether surprised when Čyževs'kyj strongly downplays, and, except for a few comments on the sermon, virtually ignores the cultural (and social and political or ideological) "content" of various works. But while he speaks of "style," devices, and tricks, there is hardly any discussion—even in the case of historical works—of that very "content" or "idea-content" which he himself listed as part of the literary work.[88] Instead, especially in the largest section on "verse poetry," there is a self-indulgent focus on formal (more correctly formalistic) features to the exclusion of all else. This may be adequate for a special study à la his own *Formalistische Dichtung bei den Slaven*,[89] but a history requires more perspective and balance.

2. One major element that is missing from the discussion is that of the political orientation or the modes of national consciousness in the literature in question. Between Kasijan Sakovyč's *Virši na žalosnyj pohreb ... Sahajdačnoho* (1622) and Semen Divovyč's *Razhovor Velykorossii z Malorossieju* (1762) there is a broad spectrum of positions, reflected in such works, among others, as Velyčkovs'kyj's *virši* to

[88] *Istorija Rusov* is the only work to be given a fuller treatment, but as Čyževs'kyj himself says, "it belongs to the post-Baroque era" (348). As to Velyčko, Čyževs'kyj cites several passages to illustrate his style, but of the "idea content" he can only say that "In the prefaces to the first and second volumes, Velyčko develops some of the basic ideas underlying his world view and his historical 'methodology'" (345)—and this is not very enlightening.

[89] Cf. Dmitrij Tschižewskij, *Formalistische Dichtung bei den Slaven* (Wiesbaden, 1958).

Hetman Samojlovyč, the *Synopsis* (probably written under the aegis of Gisel'), and Prokopovyč's *Vladimir*. But none of this is discussed: the central role of political ideology in the *Synopsis* and in *Vladimir* is not touched upon,[90] Sakovyč's *Virši* on Sahajdačnyj are mentioned only in passing, and Velyčkovs'kyj's *virši* and the very important *Razhovor* of Divovyč are not mentioned at all. Even if one were disposed to ignore these works because they have only "ideological" or "political" value (which is not the case—they have manifest literary value as well) there is also the question of the development of literary consciousness, of a literary stance, and of evolution in the articulation of aesthetic issues. Regrettably, these considerations are also ignored. For our part we can only point to a few salient "milestones." Vyšens'kyj, for example, with his fierce spirit of reaction, with his violent opposition to all things new and Western, including of course the Classics, Humanism, and the culture of the Renaissance, has, as Čyževs'kyj elaborates at length, little use for the new aesthetic or for new literary models. (Vyšens'kyj's opposition is perhaps not as absolute as Čyževs'kyj implies: in his "Poslanie k starice Domnikii" [1605] he concedes the possibility of utilizing the new learning and the new arts—though in proper, subordinate relation to Church dogma and tradition.)[91] Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, however, writing at the end of the century, perceives the issue in very different terms. In the "Predmova do čytelnyka" of his *Mleko* (1691) he gives the reason for his *štučky poetickie*, and what is more important, formulates a new aesthetic (and patriotic) consciousness:

[90] Cf. Jury Šerech [Shevelov], "On Teofan Prokopovič as Writer and Preacher in his Kiev Period," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, vol. 2 (1954); cf. also S. L. Pestič, "Sinopsis kak istoričeskoe proizvedenie," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 15 (1958): 284-98.

[91] Thus: Але бым я радил нашим фундатором благочестия во Львовѣ: в первых, церковнаго послѣдования, славословия и благочестия узаконити, дѣтем научити; таже утвердивши сумнения вѣры благочестивыми догматы, тогда внѣшних хитростей для вѣдомости касатися не возбраняти. Не бо аз хулю грамотичное учение и ключь к познанию складов и речей, яко же нѣцыи мнят и подобно глаголют: « Зане же сам не учился, того ради и нам завидит и возбраняет ». and again: И не вѣдомость хулю художества, але хулю, што тепѣрешние наши новые руские философы не знают в церкви ничтоже читати, — ни тое самое Псалтыри, ни Часослова.

Cf. Ivan Višenskij, *Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 162-63; cf. also the *History*, pp. 263-74. Here, too, the unsteady hand of the translators is evident. When Čyževs'kyj says "... i renesans i reformacija dlja n'oho [i.e., Vyšenskyj]—lyše z"javyšča pidupadu, rozkladu, antyxrystovoho 'soblaznu'" (234), they come back with "... he considered both the Renaissance and the Reformation to be no more than the manifestations of the decline, the disintegration of the anti-Christ 'heresy'" (264).

> Уважáючи я, иж мнóгіи нáродове, звлáща в наýках обфитуючіе, мнóго мáют не ты́лко ораторских, але и поетицких, чýдне а мистéрне, природным их язы́ком, от высóких рáзумов составленных трудолю́бій, котóрыми и сáми ся тѣ́шат, и потóмков своих дóвцѣпы острят, я, яко истиный сын Малороссійскои отчизны нашеи, болѣ́ючи на то сердцем, иж в Мáлой нашой Рóссіи до си́х чáс таковых нѣ от кóго ты́пом вы́даных не оглядáю трýдов, з горли́вости моéи ку милой отчи́знѣ, призвáвши бога и божію мáтку и [святых], умы́слилем, иле зможность подлого [довцѣ]пу моéго позволя́ла, нѣкотóрые значнѣйшые штýки поети́цкіе рýским язы́ком вы́разити, не з якого языка на рускій оные переводячи, але влáсною прáцею моéю нóво на подобенство інородных || составля́ючи, а нѣкотóрые и цѣ́ле русскіє спóсобы вынайдýючи, котóрыє и иншым язы́ком анѣ ся могýт вы́разити.[92]

(Here one might note that acknowledgment of these considerations would have gone far toward putting the range of Velyčkovs'kyj's devices and tricks—which form the bulk of Čyževs'kyj's illustrations—into perspective; as the section on "verse poetry" now stands, the discussion does little more than catalogue them.) And finally one can turn to Prokopovyč's treatise on poetics and rhetoric which marks the beginning of Classicist poetics. What is striking here is that this work (first delivered as a cycle of lectures in 1705), dedicated to the *Ukrainian* youth studying in the Kievan Mohyla Academy (*De arte poetica libri III ad usum et institutionem studiosae juventutis roxolanae dictati Kioviae in Orthodoxa Academia Mohyleana*)[93] had a very limited effect on Ukrainian literary currents and models. As Russian literature absorbed and elaborated the new Classicism, Ukrainian literature remained steadfastly Baroque. Dovhalevs'kyj's treatise on poetics, *Hortus poeticus* (1736), for example, illustrates both the

[92] Cf. Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 70-71. It is quite significant that for Velyčkovs'kyj the devotional, religious consideration does not eclipse but indeed harmonizes with the patriotic moment (thus: "... ložylem trud ne ku jakomu, ne daj bože tščeslaviju, ale ščegulne ku slave Boha slavy ... a na ozdobu otčysny našei i utěxu malorossijskym synom jei ...," p. 70).

[93] The term *roxolani/roxolanae*, as part of the terminology used in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, clearly referred to things Ukrainian; to translate it as *russkie/russkogo* (as is done in Eremin's and other [Russian] Soviet editions) is a distortion. (The translation of M. Dovhalevs'kyj's *Hortus poeticus* [Kiev, 1973] is accurate, i.e., the term "roxolano abdolonimo" in the title is given as "ukrajins'komu sadivnykovi" [cf. pp. 25-26]—but then this is a Ukrainian edition. Cf. the concluding section below.)

traditionalism and the stasis that had come to characterize Ukrainian literature and literary theory of this period.

3. While ignoring such overarching issues, Čyževs'kyj also disregards the individual writer as a literary-historical fact. The sole exception is Vyšens'kyj, to whom Čyževs'kyj devotes much attention. In the original he was treated with the Renaissance; now he is bodily transposed into the Baroque (and this along with one passage refuting any similarity between Vyšens'kyj and Avvakum is the sum of the revisions and emendations to this chapter). The transposition is awkward and mechanical, however. The thread connecting him to the Renaissance polemicists (p. 232 in the original) is left dangling as he is now inserted between the sections on "The Nature of the Literary Baroque" and "Literary Baroque in Ukraine." One must conclude that Čyževs'kyj (or the editor?) decided that Vyšens'kyj was after all more "Baroque" than "Renaissance" and therefore is to be put on the other side of the great divide—but with no accompanying explanation, and without even a sentence being rewritten.[94] Along with what this says about a schematic and mentalist treatment of real historical phenomena, there is a further disappointment as it becomes apparent that the basis on which "style" is determined—and Čyževs'kyj's entire periodization rests on this—can be disconcertingly flimsy. In the original Čyževs'kyj repeatedly relates Vyšens'kyj to the Renaissance on the basis of his rhetorical style (cf. p. 240); now these statements remain unchanged, except that Vyšens'kyj's "Baroqueness" is asserted by the simple expedient of adding another label: now he is said to be "close to the rhetorical style of the Renaissance, the Reformation *and the Baroque*" (274; emphasis mine). The label, it seems, is more important than the historical and cultural reality. In fact, as Čyževs'kyj's own discussion makes abundantly clear, Vyšens'kyj is neither a "Renaissance" nor a "Baroque" writer in any meaningful sense of the term but an eminently medieval, scholastic figure who happened to write at the turn of the seventeenth century and who—and this is crucial—both reflected the existing state of Ukrainian culture and letters and was instrumental in conserving that state of affairs. He was not so much a "retrograde" figure as the most forceful and eloquent exponent of a culture that was (and remained for subsequent centuries) entirely non-secular. To talk of

[94] Cf. pp. 263-74 / 232-41.

his "Renaissance" or "Baroque" style without elaborating the context is to leave a red herring for the unsuspecting.

4. Apart from Vyšens'kyj, the other writers of this period are quite undifferentiated. The names of Klymentij Zinoviev, Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj, Prokopovyč, or Skovoroda simply appear at various points and one can easily get the impression that they are all cut of the same cloth. But this is not true. Klymentij Zinoviev, for example, was a wandering monk, not very sophisticated though not unlettered, who was endowed with remarkable powers of observation and memory, and with a passionate drive to preserve his multifarious experiences and impressions, details of folklore, song and *pobut*. His corpus of *virši* and sayings, while undistinguished in terms of poetic technique and "form," is a unique encyclopedia of Ukrainian popular life as well as an extended autobiographical statement and meditation on life and morality.

5. When speaking about Klymentij, Čyževs'kyj at one point calls his "Raxuba drevam roznym" the first poem to be written in Sapphic verse (three lines of twelve syllables and a fourth with eight syllables)" (305/271). It is nothing of the sort. The "Raxuba" is a simple catalogue with no division into strophes or even lines.[95] It is even an open question whether this is poetry in any conventional sense (unless, of course, one suspects the wandering monk of being a dadaist or constructivist *avant la lettre*): it comes at the end of a long (1560 entries) alphabetically arranged list of proverbs and sayings, and is precisely what our seventeenth-century "encyclopedist" says it to be, a "Raxuba drevam roznym jak na vselennoi mnoho obretaetsja (kolko znalem i čuvalem tolko i napisalem)." Moreover, the definition of Sapphic strophe given by Čyževs'kyj is wrong: it is a syllabic strophe of three eleven-syllable lines (5+6) and one five-syllable line that tends to a pointe. The earliest and closest approximation to this occurs in the "Ostroz'kyj lament" (1636) describing the clash between Ukrainian burghers and Polish gentry that came about when the body of Prince Oleksander Ostroz'kyj was being moved from an Orthodox to a Catholic church by his daughter.[96] For example the moment of the clash:

[95] Cf. Klymentij Zinovijiv, *Virši, Prypovisti pospolyti* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 266-67.
[96] Cf. O. Bilec'kyj, ed., *Xrestomatija davn'oji ukrajins'koji literatury* (Kiev, 1967), pp. 176-78.

Єднак як ся на мостѣ споткали,
З замку выйшовшы, внет ся замѣшали,
Коли возница почал их бычовати,
    Казал вступовати.
Що видячы оныи люде нещасливыи,
Будучы с того барзо жалослывыи,
С попудливости всѣ ся порвали,
    Кыи побрали.
Слуги тои панеи и всѣ дворяне,
Видячы, же не жарт, кинулися на ных едностайне,
Шабел добывшы, внет же по собѣ:
    То мнѣ, то тобѣ.

Indeed the "lament" (of which only the concluding "prydatok" is in Sapphic verse) is in various other respects an important and interesting work, and it is regrettable that Čyževs'kyj does not mention it.

6. At the other end of the poetic spectrum from Klymentij Zinoviev is Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj. A *protopresviter* and protégé of Lazar Baranovyč, he was one of the most accomplished and sophisticated poets in the Ukrainian Baroque. His panegyrics to Baranovyč and Hetman Samojlovyč, his collections "Zegar" and "Mleko" are masterpieces of Baroque poetics.[97] Yet, Čyževs'kyj does not see fit to mention *any* of these works, let alone discuss their complex interplay of wit and profound religious and patriotic ideology; in his presentation, Velyčkovs'kyj is noteworthy only for the "štučky." The first of the above-mentioned works, the elegantly convoluted and erudite panegyric to Baranovyč (in impeccable Sapphic strophes!) is written in Polish, and as such illustrates most strikingly the central issue of the bilingualism in Ukrainian Baroque literature. But this, too, is outside the scope of Čyževs'kyj's interest.

7. With Teofan Prokopovyč the issue of bilingualism, or rather biculturalism, reappears in yet another complex form. With him we can also begin a process of differentiation, whereby, as already noted, the Classicist mode, and later, specific new genres came to be practiced in Russian—that is, Imperial—literature, while Ukrainian literature continued to subscribe to traditional forms and modes. Finally, the

[97] See Velyčkovs'kyj, *Tvory*.

last representative of the Ukrainian Baroque, Skovoroda, is in many ways unique as thinker and poet and deserving of a fuller treatment, (especially from one as qualified in this matter as Čyževs'kyj), than he is afforded.

8. Clearly, the importance of individual writers lies not in their biographies (though Čyževs'kyj himself concedes the relevance of *literary* biographies) but in the way they embody the literary process and at the same time contribute through their individual profile to the richness of the literature. Čyževs'kyj's stress on the common denominator, his focus on supra-individual categories (genres, etc.) is understandable as the organizing device that it is, and justifiable as an attempt to introduce intrinsic, formal criteria where they have been lacking so long. But such an attempt, as we see from J. Krzyżanowski's fine treatment of the Polish Baroque in his *History*,[98] need not obviate the individual artist. As it stands here, the method employed by Čyževs'kyj is reductive and constricts rather than expands our understanding of the Ukrainian Baroque.

9. Another feature that is sorely missed in this chapter, and one which, as Šerex observed, Čyževs'kyj was excellently qualified to provide, is a discussion of the relationship between the Ukrainian and the Polish Baroque. We are given a discussion on the influence of Ukrainian Baroque literature on Russian and South Slavic literature, a section on the "Ukrainian school" in Polish literature, but the Ukrainian-Polish context is somehow (one is tempted to say, perversely) ignored. And yet it is a central issue. Its importance rests not only on the fact (noted by Čyževs'kyj) that major writers of this period wrote as much, if not more, in Polish than in Ukrainian (e.g., Baranovyč, Potij, Galjatovs'kyj, et al.), or that Polish writers and their works were closely followed, whether for purposes of polemics (e.g., Vyšens'kyj and Skarga), or as models (where, for example, P. Kochanowski's *Goffred* became the classical model for a modern epic for Prokopovyč and other writers on literary theory and poetics) or as prototypes (as, for example, S. Twardowski's *Wojna domowa*, which, despite its hostile treatment of the *Xmel'nyččyna*, was translated and continued to inform various Ukrainian

[98] Cf. Julian Krzyżanowski, *Historia literatury polskiej* (Warsaw, 1966).

accounts of this period).[99] What is most basic, however, is the fact that throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth Ukrainian literature shared a cultural milieu with Polish literature while maintaining its own separate, strongly scholastic traditions. This uneasy coexistence, this interface of common ground and opposition, adumbrated also by the fact that for virtually all literate people, and undoubtedly for the elite, Polish was a *lingua franca*, makes Ukrainian Baroque literature an extraordinarily complex and interesting phenomenon. The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the relationship between Ukrainian and Russian literature, which from the second half of the seventeenth century grew in intensity as the Ukraine was progressively absorbed into the Russian Empire. But, as Čyževs'kyj shows us, what began as a cultural "mission" ended as a Babylonian captivity. The fate of Ukrainian literature in this "captivity" is the subject of the following chapter.

G. "CLASSICISM"

1. The chapter on Classicism is in some respects an improvement on the previous one: it provides on the one hand a clearer picture of the actual cultural and political context, and, on the other hand, while still maintaining a general approach by genres, devotes considerable attention to the major writers of the period (Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka, Hulak, et al.). As a result, the beginning student can in all probability get a more coherent sense of this period than in the case of the Baroque. At the same time, however, Čyževs'kyj proposes a number of formulations in this chapter with which one must take issue. The first of these, the single most misleading concept in the entire *History*, is the notion of "an incomplete literature of an incomplete nation." But since this is a crucial theoretical issue, and a working premise, indeed axiom, that is not confined to this chapter, we are perhaps justified in reserving it for the final, theoretical discussion. There are, nevertheless, many other points to take up here.

2. As with the preceding chapters, Čyževs'kyj prefaces this one with a general statement on "Literary Classicism," and thus prepares the ground for the discussion by outlining his criteria, his understanding

[99] Cf. G. Grabowicz, "Samuel Twardowski's *Wojna domowa*: Literary Context and Aspects of Genre," in *For Wiktor Weintraub* (The Hague, 1975).

of the major issues, etc. But as with the preceding (i.e., the Renaissance and the Baroque), it becomes evident that here, too, the "general" (in effect, Western) literary-historical phenomenon and the Ukrainian "variant" are far apart. Čyževs'kyj concedes as much at the outset as he states that

> Classicism assumed a peculiar form in Ukraine where certain factors (see below) precluded the establishment of any significant opposition to the Baroque. In addition, the new "classicist" style did not enjoy the wide development found in the West or among other Slavic peoples: Ukrainian Classicism was weak and rather poorly defined. (370-71)

This rather important qualification, however, remains largely unrealized and unapplied—except for subsequent references to the "weakness" or the "incompleteness" of Ukrainian Classicism. The basic premise of the existence of "Ukrainian Classicism," rather than, let us say, "Ukrainian literature of the period of Classicism," the belief that this "Classicism" is essentially, structurally of a piece with Western, or for that matter Russian or Polish Classicism, is professed without any reservations. And this, needless to say, creates various problems. (Even before turning to them, it is interesting to observe that as with the Renaissance, here, too, Čyževs'kyj feels called upon to polemicize with Classicism, by saying, for example, that:

> Clearly there was much that was pernicious in the psychology of the period of Classicism. In Ukraine in particular, the social structure led to a narrowing of the thematic range of literature. At the same time, the ideology of the Enlightenment brought on rationalistic aridity and the neglect of a great part of life—especially in that sphere which is so important to literature [and to all art in general]—that of the feelings. [373-74]

Apart from the dubious assertions about the "aridity" and the "neglect" of "feelings"—in some respects there may have been, in others not, and in general this is a question of historical relativity and value and taste—the indulgence of preference through facile value judgments on whole cultural periods [*pro* Baroque and Romanticism, *anti* Renaissance and Classicism] is somewhat questionable for a historian).

3. One cannot contend, of course, that Čyževs'kyj's approach to Ukrainian literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century *qua* "Classicism" is without merit. It does focus attention on the problem of genres, on the predisposition to "low" genres (travesty, satire), etc. The reason for this choice of "low" genres, or, putting

it more broadly, the system of the literature is not made clear, however. While it is helpful to know that Ukrainian literature of this time was influenced by and modelled itself on various Classicist premises, it is quite another thing to postulate that Ukrainian literature was then *as a whole system* defined by the ideology and poetics of Classicism. From what Čyževs'kyj says it is clear that no such Classicist system existed. But rather than investigating the possibility of a different system then in existence or at least in *statu nascendi* in Ukrainian literature, a system by all indications more complex and heterogeneous than that sketched out by the Classicist model, Čyževs'kyj finds that Ukrainian "Classicism" is not as "complete" as other Classicisms, e.g., the French or the Polish, in that it does not exhibit the same range of genres and styles, particularly in the "middle" and "high" registers (cf. pp. 374-76 and 431-34), and that it lacks the "ideological traits" characteristic of Classicism.[100] He also argues, though not as categorically, that Ukrainian "Classicism" was not only "incomplete" and "untypical" (433) but also somehow inconsistent in its stylistic expression (i.e., having "stylistic indistinctness"; 376) and unduly and perniciously long-lived. (This, to be sure, closely echoes Zerov's qualification of the *kotljarevščyna* as "a long and persistent illness of Ukrainian letters.")[101]

These are the main problems, each flowing from Čyževs'kyj's normative conception of literature and literary history. They are illustrated by a number of specific arguments which bear questioning.

4. Čyževs'kyj begins by asserting, quite correctly, that no clear divide, no revolutionary theory and no polemics or manifestos heralded the transition from Baroque to Classicism in Ukrainian literature. He then turns to what he takes to be the first instances of the new poetic movement—and here the discussion is astonishing in its misconceptions. For what he does is to take various eighteenth-century *virši* and argue (pp. 377-80) that (1) these are "modern parodies" exemplifying an "aristocratic tenor" or "aristocratic spirit" (and implicitly having a gentry provenance), that (2) "their authors seem imbued with enthusiasm for the Enlightenment; their attitude to

[100] I.e., "It was quite easy to overlook the 'classicism' in Ukrainian 'Classicism,' for Ukrainian literature lacked those characteristic genres and stylistic and ideological traits (rationalism, 'high style,' etc.) which would have been unacceptable either to the Romantics or to the Realists" (376). Cf. below.

[101] Cf. M. Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo* (Munich, 1960), p. 98.

И попала там Хрыста.
Вин-же ій сказав спроста :]

Чого, Марусе, так ты плачеш?
Я воскрес — сама ты бачыш ... [106]

The line "Čoho, Maruse, tak ty plačes?," with its unaffected tenderness, is quite moving, and, one could even say, a foreshadowing of the intimate directness of Ševčenko's "Marija." In their emotional actualization of the Biblical story these and other such moments actually testify to genuine piety, a feature which characterizes folk and folk-like reworkings of Biblical motifs in different cultures and in different times. This, for example, is a version of the meeting between Christ and Mary Magdalene as told by Jędrzej Wawro (1864-1937), the folk artist and storyteller of Southern Poland:

Święto Magdalena była ozpustnom dziewicom, bo lubiła sie ciesyć z parobkami. Przebiyrania rózne nosiła, z wielgiem państwem balowała i po nocach sie smyrała z kawalyrami.

No dobrze. Jak roz tak sła do domu nad ranem, naciesono i nagrzysono, tak spotkoł sie ś niom Poniezus, a óna—hips, za płot!

—O raneści—powiado—ten mi wsuje!

A Pon Jezus jom widzioł, pogroził ji palcem:

—Magdalenko, Magdalenko, co ci powiym, to ci powiym, ale ci powiym, cies sie z kim kces, grzys z kim kces, ino kóńca patrz.[107]

Like the eighteenth-century Ukrainian *virša*, this reworking of the Gospel is a particular form of actualization and "humanization," and to call it blasphemous would be simply absurd.

There is a similar problem with Čyževs'kyj's understanding of "vulgar" and "contemptuous." To begin, he is careful to pick those passages that appear most "drastic" or "coarse"; thus he cites a verse like

Хлопци, дивкы
На выпередкы
Бигають пид хаткы,
Як ты вовкы
Або свынкы
Скурнечуть колядкы

but omits the following ones which are quite effective in their imagery:

[106] Cf. Bilec'kyj, *Xrestomatija*, pp. 539-40.
[107] Cf. Tadeusz Seweryn, *Swiątkarz powsinoga* (Warsaw, 1963), p. 84.

Маты земля
Уся гуля
Узявшысь в бокы,
Письни гука,
Бье гоцака,
В пидковы шырокы.

Ангелы вси
[На небеси]
Плещуть в ладони,
З радости бьють,
Письни гудут
Якимови дони.[108]

(He also apparently does not take into consideration the very real probability that the peripatetic performers of these *virši*, the *mandrovani djaky*, would not be disposed to speak well of their amateur competition, the *xlopci* and *divky*.) In general, Čyževs'kyj does not appreciate the humor in these works, and this, while a handicap for any literary critic, is particularly disabling for Ukrainian literature where humor (often broad and earthy) plays such a central role.

The restricted appreciation of humor goes hand in hand with an oversensitivity to vulgarity. The most telling instance of this form of critical hyperesthesia occurs in the ill-fated *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, where after citing a passage from Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's travesty ode "Do Parxoma I" Čyževs'kyj states that "no translation can render the vulgarity of this language."[109] The poem is indeed an exercise in burlesque crudity, and it is not Hulak's best, but can one really say that it is so vulgar as to be untranslatable? Whether emotional reaction or misreading of the cultural and literary context, this tendency distorts much of the discussion in this chapter.

5. A centerpiece of this chapter is Kotljarevs'kyj and his *Enejida*, and the analysis of this work is one of the lengthier ones in the whole *History*. Čyževs'kyj's primary focus is on the language, and this is well taken, for by its virtuosity, its broad range of comic effects and its sheer lexical and connotative volume it becomes more than medium or vehicle; the language of the *Enejida*, as we see from the numerous

[108] Cf. Bilec'kyj, *Xrestomatija*, p. 534.
[109] Čiževskij, *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, p. 116.

catalogues, of foods, games, names, occupations, etc., becomes a verbal metaphor for the entire Ukrainian ethos. If ever the rather banal contention that the language is the hero of the work were true, it would be here. Thus Čyževs'kyj's observation that "Kotljarevs'kyj paid little attention to the character of his heroes: they are completely non-individualized, their character changing unrecognizably, in some cases, during the poem" (383) is quite true. This explains (if it does not quite justify) the psychological obtuseness in the poem that Zerov found so unpalatable.[110]

5.1. Along with a discussion of the language and the formal properties of the genre, some (to be sure, less) attention is paid to thematic concerns. And here a few qualifications are in order. Čyževs'kyj is certainly correct to note that the *Enejida* is both a "dictionary" and an "encyclopedia" of Ukrainian life,[111] or Ukrainian material and spiritual culture, but given this broad range, a synthesizing judgment fixing the work's hierarchy of themes and values, its "meaning" in the broadest sense, is necessary: the *Enejida* is, after all, a watershed work, ushering in modern Ukrainian literature. No such synthesis is provided, however.

5.2. One central moment (rather more important than the satiric component on which Soviet criticism places great stress and which Čyževs'kyj all but ignores) is Kotljarevs'kyj's evocation of the national historical past, specifically of Cossackdom. For Čyževs'kyj this is a secondary matter; as far as he is concerned it is "transformed, first of all, into components of travesty" (398). As evidence of this he cites a few casual references to Cossack institutions and ranks, or instances of the poem's characteristic hybridization of classical antiquity and the Ukrainian past, for example, Enej's reference to himself as "Ja košovyj—Enej trojanec'" (cf. 398). An extended sympathetic image of the *Het'manščyna*,

Так вічной пам'яти бувало
У нас в Гетьманщині колись,
Так просто військо шиковало,

[110] Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pysmenstvo*, pp. 68-9. A comparison shows that Čyževs'kyj's discussion draws considerably on Zerov.

[111] The idea of the *Enejida* as an "encyclopedia" or "faithful document of Ukrainian life" is a leitmotif in Kotljarevs'kyj criticism, and goes back to Kostomarov's "Obzor sočinenij pisannyx na malorossijskom jazyke" (1843).

Не знавши : стій, не шевелись;
Так славниї полки козацькі
Лубенський, Гадяцький, Полтавський
В шапках було, як мак, цвітуть.
Як грянуть, сотнями ударять,
Перед себе списи наставлять,
То мов мітлою все метуть, (IV, 101)

is explained away as stemming "from not altogether perfect knowledge" (398). (In the original, to be sure, Čyževs'kyj said that this flowed "*napivsvidomo*"; 346.) But neither imperfect knowledge nor semi-consciousness are at issue. In fact, the *Enejida* provides ample proof that Kotljarevs'kyj was well acquainted with various aspects of Ukrainian life, past and present: of the Cossacks, of officialdom, and of the common people. Referring to another passage, Čyževs'kyj argues that "having aroused in readers their sense of nationalism and even sovereignty, Kotljarevs'kyj deals them a bitter blow only a few lines later with this unheroic and vulgar tableau" (398) and as illustration of this cites the following fragment (IV, 126), stressing the words *pjanu* and *nahajem pidjanhav*:

Так Сагайдачний з Дорошенком
Козацьким військом величавсь.
Один з бунчуком перед раттю,
Позаду другий п'яну браттю
Донським нагаєм підганяв.

What is not taken into account here is that this "unheroic and vulgar tableau" is an elaboration on perhaps the single best-known Ukrainian historical folk song, "Oj na hori da ženci žnut'." It would seem quite reasonable that if the song's division into vanguard and rear guard is accepted ("... poperedu Dorošenko ... / ... a pozadu Sahajdačnyj") the function of the latter would be, among other things, to bring up stragglers, and these could very well be drunk. It is essential, however, to round off this scene by adding this stanza's last three lines (which Čyževs'kyj somehow deleted) to see how truly "unheroic and vulgar" this "tableau" is, and how Kotljarevs'kyj turns the Zaporozhians "into components of travesty":

Рядочком їхали гарненько,
З люльок тютюн тягли смачненько,
А хто на конику куняв.

5.3. The issue is straightforward: the most important value in the *Enejida*, the one untouched by any humorous or condescending treatment, is one's country, and its most obvious objective correlative—Cossackdom.[112] This has been argued with greater or lesser sophistication by much of Kotljarevs'kyj criticism, and in debunking it Čyževs'kyj presents no persuasive arguments. His contention that "Possibly the only places in which Kotljarevs'kyj refrained from using travesty are those having a moral or humanistic character" (399) remains unsupported. The two out-of-context fragments he cites here (i.e., V, 77 and V, 39) are *not* references to abstract *povynnist'* and *čest'* but rather unmistakably clear references to duty and honor *in defense of one's country, one's people*—here the Cossack-Trojan host. In his desire to overlook this, Čyževs'kyj seems to be almost tendentious in his citations: when speaking of references to folk songs he cites verse 2 of part III (395):

А вітри ззаду все трубили
В потилицю його човнам,
Що мчалися зо всеї сили
По чорним пінявим водам.
Гребці і весла положили,
Та сидя люлечки курили
І кургикали пісеньок:
Козацьких, гарних запорозьких,

but for no apparent reason—unless it is to purge the poem of all "ideology"—he omits the last two very revealing lines of this stanza:

А які знали, то московських
Вигадовали бриденьок.

This is unfortunate, for this distich again illustrates Kotljarevs'kyj's "patriotism" and his attitude of esteem, not travesty, toward the Cossack past. Moreover, this distinction between "beautiful Cossack songs" and "ugly Muscovite ones" casts doubt on the notion, put forward by Čyževs'kyj, that for Kotljarevs'kyj Russian and Ukrainian elements are coequal (cf. 396-97).

[112] Cf., for example, the views of O. Bilec'kyj, A. Šamraj, P. Volyns'kyj and V. Gippius; cf. Je. Šabliovs'kyj and B. Derkač, Introduction to I. P. Kotljarevs'kyj, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv* (Kiev, 1969), p. 19 and passim.

5.4. The "patriotism" here is not simple, of course; it is not of the Romantic Cossacophile variety. The best intrinsic proof of this is the ambivalent treatment of Enej and his Cossack-Trojans. They are at the same time valiant warriors (especially in the later parts) and bedraggled and hungry ragamuffins (especially in part I). Reflected in this ambivalence is the prevailing late eighteenth-century attitude to the Zaporozhians (but not the Cossack State as such), an attitude born of Enlightenment centralism and promulgated by official historiography, in which the Sič was basically a nest of anarchic vagabonds and robbers. In literature this attitude was best reflected in the novels of Vasyl' Narižnyj (Narežnyj), *Bursak* and *Zaporožec*. For Kotljarevs'kyj, though it is discernible in scenes of revelry and "low" behavior, this attitude is nevertheless subordinate to the heroic, "national" dimension of Enej's host: their cause, their representation of their country is never questioned.

5.5. The question of travesty and of Čyževs'kyj's understanding of it is crucial. For him the meaning of Kotljarevs'kyj's poem is fully exhausted by the abstract norms and values of the genre. And since it is "travesty" and since it has "vulgar" words and expressions it cannot be "serious." This is an insistent refrain, e.g., "... these expressions ["rude vulgarisms," etc.] offended readers for by then the poem had attained, to Kotljarevs'kyj's surprise, the reputation of a composition of *serious* significance, the first work of modern Ukrainian literature" (388; italics in the original), or "Because readers regarded the poem as a serious work, from a certain point of view, a negative impression was produced on them by the strange, coarse (and non-folk) 'corrupted' words in its lexicon" (389), or, "Nevertheless, serious ideological themes are not entirely absent from the *Enejida*" (399), or "Such was the difference between his [Kotljarevs'kyj's] era and the Baroque when a poet of similar temperament and equal interest in antiquity and national life and customs would have produced not a travesty, not a work whose genre lay on the periphery of literature, but a work of truly important significance" (402), or, finally, this eloquent conjecture: "Indeed, in some parts of his poem it would not be difficult to transform the piece into a serious work. One need only remove the linguistic elements of the travesty—the vulgarisms, the overly colloquial expressions, the ethnographic details, etc. It would not be necessary to change the style—it is completely classical" (402-403). The equation of travesty with

"unseriousness," the disdain of "vulgarity," the antiquated notion that the division into "high" and "low" genres actually implies intrinsic value, i.e., is tantamount to "better" and "worse," and, above all, the belief, remarkable for a literary scholar, that one can "fix up" a poem by removing some "linguistic elements" (which in fact constitute its essential structure) without thereby necessarily "changing the style"—all this vitiates the entire analysis. Here, as in other parts of the book, an ostensibly formal and dispassionate judgment becomes a deeply emotional value judgment, with the underlying values (norms) remaining quite unexamined. There is no recognition that Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* expresses an ethos, a cultural perspective in which broad humor ("vulgarity") plays a central, *structural* role, and that this perspective is an adequate reflection, a historically "necessary" expression of a national—not folk, or class—experience; there is no recognition of the fact that what Boileau thought of the mock-epic, or what Kotljarevs'kyj's contemporaries, or Ševčenko, or Kuliš thought of it is not half as important as what the poem constitutes as an artistic and symbolic construct and what its function was in the development of Ukrainian literature and literary consciousness. Finally, there is apparently no awareness that definitions of genres and hierarchies of genre are abstract tools that aid in understanding the literary process but are not ends or absolutes against which a work is to be compared and found wanting. Because of this, and because the genre of travesty and the ideal of "seriousness" (and beyond that the goal of a "complete" literature) is more important for Čyževs'kyj than the *Enejida* itself, he can arrive at such disturbing conclusions.

6. Čyževs'kyj's treatment of the other major writers of this period, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Kvitka, also shows instances of the same normative thinking, with its hierarchy of values and with the attendant range of biases. The distortions that ensue affect not only specific works but the overall profile of the authors, and ultimately of the whole period. The discussion of Hulak, while allowing some qualifications, while conceding his literary talent and formal mastery, is, on the balance, one-sided and rather unfair. As against Kotljarevs'kyj, the main charge is "vulgarity" and "travesty" (the qualification being that for Hulak "the level of vulgarization may vary; while he seems to favor the speech of drunkards and buffoons ... serious, lyrical language may also be found in his work" [405]). When not flawed

in this way his language is "unnaturally sentimental" (407), and even when attempting "serious works," i.e., his translations of the Psalms, the effect is "rather ponderous" (409). The fact that Hulak paraphrased two Romantic ballads, by Mickiewicz and Goethe, is taken by Čyževs'kyj as a sign of inconsistency, and his bad orientation in the realm of literary theory ("It is consistent with Hulak-Artemovs'kyj's not very lofty literary-theoretical thinking that he accepted the new post-classical literature without any of the resistance typical of Classicists elsewhere"; 410). "These translations, too," Čyževs'kyj claims, "came out as travesties" (410).

This is simply false. "Tvardovs'kyj" is a very interesting adaptation of Mickiewicz's ballad and a significant step toward Romanticism;[113] it elaborates on the original, and thereby loses some of its conciseness, it adds folkloristic detail and color, it inserts a *few* broad scenes and expressions (which *are* in keeping with the original), but it is not a travesty. "Rybalka," on the other hand, tends to the sentimental, and though it relies to some extent on a lexicon now associated with the burlesque tradition (such words as *smyk*, *hul'k*, *t'ox*, etc.), it has nothing of the travesty in it. The frequent diminutives that Čyževs'kyj finds so objectionable are a function of Hulak's conscious attempt to see "if one cannot express in Ukrainian feelings that are gentle, noble, and elevated, and which do not force the reader or listener to laugh, as he would from Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida* or from other poetry written with a similar purpose" (cf. the introduction by M. Kačenovskij accompanying the poem in the *Vestnik Evropy*).[114] Rather than magisterially chide Hulak ("If one were not familiar with [his] paraphrases of the Psalms, one might think that he considered the Ukrainian language unfit to convey serious ideas"; 411) it would have been more to the point to refer to this not unimportant fact.

This is the crux of the problem: Čyževs'kyj does not approach the phenomenon, the literary fact, as something to be described and analyzed in its own right, i.e., in its own temporal and cultural context, but insists on judging it by an absolute, of genre, of "seriousness," etc. The extreme to which this can lead occurs, as we have just seen, when he castigates Hulak-Artemovs'kyj—*as poet*, not as

[113] Mickiewicz's ballad is entitled "Pani Twardowska," not "Pan Tvardovs'kyj" as Čyževs'kyj and the translators have it (410/354).

[114] *Vestnik Evropy*, 1827, no. 20, p. 288; cited in P. P. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, *Tvory* (Kiev, 1964), pp. 243-44.

literary critic—for tainting his Classicism by translating Romantic ballads (as if a poet were obliged to live up to the purity of a literary movement).

An important literary-historical issue is involved here, namely, the fact that Hulak-Artemovs'kyj and Kvitka, to name but the central figures, cannot be fully understood only in terms of Classicism and its poetics. As Čyževs'kyj himself points out more than once, the phenomenon of Classicism, its temporal delimitation, and, above all, its distinctness in the eyes of contemporaries and the given awareness of its writer was never very clear. It was in many respects a transitional period, and the literature of this time (and Čyževs'kyj never fully brings this out, except by the unfortunate metaphor of "incompleteness") was still largely a provincial literature, one in the process of developing its norms and values and in the process of articulating its "language." Given this, and the inevitable blurring of contours in this period, it is certainly questionable to judge its authors and works by the fixed norms of another literature, be it French or Polish or Russian. It is only unfortunate that though Čyževs'kyj recognizes this in principle (cf. p. 368) he does not always practice it.

7. A closely associated issue, but one which Čyževs'kyj largely ignores, is how the literature of this period, from Kotljarevs'kyj in the *Enejida* to Hrebinka in his *Lastivka*, progressively articulates its national and cultural and *literary* self-awareness.[115] The question of language, of vernacular Ukrainian, is important, but still only the tip of the iceberg. Beyond it, the burlesque mode, the broad gamut of humor, are further means of asserting a new consciousness. Pre- and post-Revolutionary critics, notwithstanding their tendency to pathos and overstatement, were essentially right in speaking of the humor of the *Enejida* as a many-leveled form of national (and cultural and literary) self-assertion.[116] The case of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj is still more striking. In such pieces as "Deščo pro toho Haras'ka,"[117] the prose part of the "Suplika do Hryc'ka Kvitky," or the "Pysul'ka do ... 'Ukra-

[115] The excursus on "The Literature of National Revival" only touches upon the existence of this problem. In the chapter on "Classicism" it is not really discussed—certainly not in the terms we propose.

[116] An eloquent statement of this is Jevhen Sverstjuk's "Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj smijetsja"; English translation in Ievhen Sverstiuk, *Clandestine Essays*, trans. and ed. by George S. N. Luckyj (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).

[117] The translators call *this* a "travestied ode," and take the opening sentence of this prose "note" ("Vono to bač ...") to be its title; cf. pp. 430-31.

jins'koho Hincja' ..." Čyževs'kyj sees only elements of travesty and vulgarity (430-31), but in fact there is something of great significance here. In the existing state of affairs these pieces constitute the boldest expression of a Ukrainian sense of separateness, and indeed disaffection. Where the *Istorija Rusov* couched its argument in the guise of history, Hulak-Artemovs'kyj uses the device of the language question and the pose of a simpleton:

Воно то, бач, оце́ по-нашому *Гарасько*, а по-московській, либо́нь, *Горацій*. — О! вже вони хоч що переховерсають по-сво́єму! Там-то вже предивенна їм мова!

And while rambling on about the linguistic peculiarities of the Great Russians,

От часом трапиться так, що стоїш перед ним з добру годину, а він тобі січе та рубає! ... Що ж? — Хрін його й слівце́ второпає, — що він там верзе та паплює! От тілько буцім-го й дочуваєш, що « вот-с », та « што-с », та « да-с », та « нет-с », та « гаварю-кажу », « гаварю-кажу », а що він там гаво́рить-каже, того, далебі, що і з попом не розбереш!

he brings in such telling comments as

Ще б щось сказав, бо язик дуже свербить, та цур їм! ... У нас, бач, уся старшина московська : чи то дале́ко до пені? Бог з ними! ... Возьмеш, як то кажуть, личком, а оддаси ремінцем! [118]

(A similar note is repeated in the "Suplika," and more than twenty years later Hrebinka in his postscript to the *Lastvika* is still more pointed.) This is not, to be sure, the explicit, impassioned and politically crystallized convictions of Ševčenko of the great satiric poems (though Ševčenko himself turns to this comic and oblique tradition in his postscript to the *Hajdamaky*); but as oblique as it is, it is nevertheless a form of protest, and what is more, a tentative articulation of a literary program. For under the surface of jokes about pronunciation and orthography, there is the current of a thesis, to wit: "ours is different *and* it is as good as theirs."[119] Even if there is a

[118] "Deščo pro toho Haras'ka," Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, *Tvory*, p. 60.

[119] Cf. Jevhen Hrebinka's "Do zobačennja" (Postscript to *Lastivka*, 1841), in his *Tvory v p''jaty tomax* (Kiev, 1957), 5: 325— Хотів було я вам, панове, пустить свою книжку зимою, та як одніс у друкарню, як стали москалі друкарювать, так я вам кажу, і сміх, і горе! Чи ви повірите, що над одним листиком та б'ються

tinge of self-deprecation, the conscious juxtaposition ("Vono to, bač, oce po-našomu Haras'ko, a po-moskovs'kij, lybon', Goracij") is programmatic. (That it also coincided with and furthered the "complex" of the "sly Little Russian," that it may have become part of what Zerov termed the "literary disease of kotljarevščyna," is a different matter, and a historical and literary problem in its own right.) The basic features of this rudimentary "program," it seems, are two. The first is a more or less conscious positing of a distinct Ukrainian community, one which transcends the class distinctions of *pan* and *xlop*. This is a prominent leitmotif in Hulak-Artemovs'kyj (cf. especially the "Pysul'ka"), in Kvitka, in Hrebinka, and it culminates in Ševčenko's political injunction of the "Poslanie" ("I mertvym i žyvym i nenarodženym ..."):

Обніміте ж, брати мої,
Найменшого брата, —
Нехай мати усміхнется,
Заплакана мати.

That in real social terms this was unrealized, that this was a literary fiction goes without saying. In fact, that is the very point. The second feature, a corollary to this sense of a distinct cultural community, is the felt need of a point of coalescence, of concensus, of a common denominator, and this is provided by the *narod*, by the peasant ethos. What is essential is that while in one sense this is the lowest common denominator, the emphasis is not on the "lowest" but on the "common," for the folk is culturally closer to the gentry likes of a Hulak-Artemovs'kyj or a Kvitka than the ethos of the socially equal but culturally different *moskali*. In a word, cultural identification is seen to transcend class distinctions. For the Soviet critic this may appear to be a *réchauffage* of the ("bourgeois nationalist") conception of a "classless Ukrainian nation." It is nothing of the sort: class distinctions existed, of course, and Soviet criticism will continue tediously to remind us of this, but the existence of this literary fiction or "ideal value," from Kotljarevs'kyj to Ševčenko, is inescapable.

тиждень або й більше. Ти напишеш *гілля*, а він видруковує *гѣллѣ* : это, стало быть, каже, красивей. — « Та мовчи, будь ласкав, москалю, та роби те, що тобі кажуть, за що гроші береш ». От він як почує гроші, зараз і схаменеться. Що ж? Трохи згодом знов уже перевертує по-своєму! ...

8. Another significant result of this feeling of distinctness is the coinage of a distinct literary terminology. What began as a focus on pronunciation and orthography, and jokes about names ("Vono to, bač, oce po-našomu *Haras'ko* ...") is now extended to the literary form itself, to the names of genres. Thus when Kvitka writes a cycle of six epigrams in Ukrainian he gives it a very indicative title: "*Špyhačky*, abo po Moskovs'komu *èpigrammy*."[120] While not every genre is given a new name, the pattern of coinages is unmistakable. Thus in the works of Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Kvitka and Kotljarevs'kyj himself we find *pysul'ka* for "epistle," *pobrexen'ka* for "anecdote," *prykazka* for "epigrammatic fable," *pisnja* for "ode" or rather "encomium," later *prybajutka* for "proverb" (Borovykovs'kyj), etc. (As we shall see, the final and most ambitious step in this direction was taken by Stepan Rudans'kyj.) In the spirit of Čyževs'kyj's argument, this parallel terminology could also be taken as evidence of vulgarity or insufficient seriousness, but only if we accept the normative premise that a "full complement" of genres is necessary, that some of them must be "high" and express an elevated mode, and, for that matter, have a "proper" terminology. The situation changes considerably if a different premise is accepted. If, for example, we posit "organicity" rather than "completeness" as the basic criterion and desideratum, we could argue that the Ukrainian literature in question is organically relying on its own traditional resources (of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century models, of non-elite "folk" models) while in contrast Russian literature of this time relies almost exclusively on foreign, imported models. The *ody*, *èpigrammy*, *opery*, *eposy*, and *satiry* of Russian Classicism reflect a borrowed terminology and spirit and constitute, according to *this* criterion, an artificial system, as "artificial" as other systems imported in the course of Russian history: French dress and furniture, German bureaucracy, Dutch naval technology, etc. This, of course, is normal and natural for an empire, and by the same token the pattern in Ukrainian literature is also normal and natural for its historical development. It is more than that—it is necessary. For one can say unequivocally that the travesties and burlesques, the "vulgarities" and the "unseriousness" were necessary

[120] This is the form of the original title: cf. *Molva* 4, no. 120 (1833): 477-78. In the eight-volume edition of Kvitka's works (Kiev, 1970) the title is Ukrainianized and *èpigrammy* becomes *epihramy*, thus blurring the important contrasting between the two terms (8: 298). As noted above, the present translation with its "Little Stingers or Moscow-style Epigrams" totally erases the meaning.

for the further development of Ukrainian literature; it was through them that the distinctness of Ukrainian literature (and, of course, the culture and the historical experience) could be expressed. For Ukrainian writers of this time to attempt an "elevated" Classicist mode, to borrow from or to model themselves on Russian, or Polish, or French or any other foreign literature, in short, to make Ukrainian literature imitative at this crucial juncture, would have been suicidal. They could, and did, express the "cosmopolitan," the "general" literary content in Russian and in the "high" genres; the specifically Ukrainian content, the Ukrainian themes and experiences, and the emotions intrinsically associated with them could only be expressed in Ukrainian, and, in the beginning, in forms (genres) closely associated with those already existing in the tradition. It is *qua* recourse to the roots and not *qua* contempt for the common man born of the Enlightenment (of which contempt there is indeed hardly any evidence in the texts) that these writers turned to the "low" genres.

From the methodological perspective, it seems a reasonable proposition that if literary history has for its object the *actual* literary process (and not an ideal or schematic version) then the stages of that process constitute a necessary structure, and as part of that structure do not lend themselves to evaluation. For strictly speaking, only artistic phenomena can be evaluated. The literary process and its stages can only be analyzed and described. This is a central theoretical premise, to which we shall return. For the moment, one can argue by way of illustration that both the stylistic breadth and the national consciousness of a Ševčenko would have been impossible without a Kotljarevs'kyj with all his "stylistic" and "national" limitations; and the above-quoted "Poslanie" could only come after a "Pysul'ka."

9. As with Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, the discussion of Kvitka also suffers from the misconceptions centering around the problem of "vulgarity" and "unseriousness"; this need not be anatomized again. Our discussion can be focused on two issues, one general and one specific. The former concerns Čyževs'kyj's contention that Kvitka cannot be considered a sentimentalist (cf. pp. 435-36). This can be accepted only in the sense that Kvitka's relation to or dependence on Russian sentimentalism of the Karamzin school is not, as Čyževs'kyj argues (in rebuttal of Zerov), demonstrable in terms of specific linguistic and formal devices. On the other hand, it is evident, as illustrated

by his best-known work, "Marusia," that Kvitka, if not a Karamzinist, was still a sentimentalist in the broader or "psychological" sense, which Čyževs'kyj concedes. He feels, however, that the term should be properly used only "in its historico-literary sense" and consequently considers the question of Kvitka's sentimentalism solely *sub speciae* of the "Russian Sentimentalist school of Karamzin." Since Kvitka's sentimentalism (or "sensibility") does not conform to the conventions of that school but reflects an indigenous Ukrainian basis, it cannot be sentimentalism. This, we submit, is another victory for schematism: "Ukrainian Sentimentalism," it seems, can be admitted only if it conforms to Russian Sentimentalism.

The specific issue concerns Čyževs'kyj's treatment of a story by Kvitka, the brilliant "Konotops'ka vid'ma," a work to be ranked among the best in all of nineteenth-century Ukrainian prose. Čyževs'kyj passes it over in one sentence: "'*Konotops'ka vid'ma*' ("The Witch of Konotop," 1837) recounts how a Cossack captain and a clerk drowned witches in a pond" (421). This is all for a story that in its intricate construction of plot and character, its subtle play with mood and folk stylization is equal to the best of the early Gogol'. To be sure, a bit further on Čyževs'kyj alludes to the story, but only to scold Kvitka for demonstrating moral insensitivity, to show that "Kvitka's 'morality' was both too strictly preached and imperfectly practiced" (429). To arrive at this conclusion he must overlook the difference between the author's "morality" and that of his represented character (whose statement occasions this judgment) as well as that of the clearly limited, stylized narrator. It is as if one were to judge Gogol''s intelligence on the basis of Rudyj Pan'ko's.

10. The issue, of course, is not that a particular work was underestimated, it is rather that here as in many other places Čyževs'kyj does not perceive nor do justice to the complexity of *voice* and the author's *stance*. Further, he does not see that as with the individual writers, so also with the entire period labelled "Classicism," i.e., roughly the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the defining feature, the center of gravity, is a searching for a new literary idiom and direction, as well as an audience and a literary "ideology" that would be linked to the old yet adapted to the new. This perhaps explains the broad range of models utilized by Hulak-Artemovs'kyj—the classical Horace, the neo-Classicist Krasicki, the Romantics Goethe and Mickiewicz—as well as the range of themes and genres,

from satiric fable and epigram to ballads, psalms and occasional verse. This also perhaps explains the "mixed" styles, for example, in Kotljarevs'kyj, with the burlesque *Enejida* and the sentimental *Natalka Poltavka*, or in Kvitka, with the sentimental "Marusja" and the almost Romantic—and satiric—"Konotops'ka vid'ma."

11. This search for a new literary idiom and direction had for its most obvious feature recourse to the vernacular, as Čyževs'kyj stresses, but one can hardly agree with him that this "practice was undertaken partly as a diversion and partly in imitation of foreign literature which relegated to the low genres (travesty, grotesque, burlesque) those dialects and languages which did not yet have their own literatures, e.g., the Italian dialects and the Provençal language" (431-32). To this one might answer that it is clear from the works themselves and from such ancillary sources as the authors' correspondence that they were written with utmost seriousness;[121] the very fact of writing in a language that conveyed no political status and furthered no careers indicates deep emotional commitment. Their work expressed

[121] Kvitka's letter—in Russian—to Krajevskij (28 Dec. 1841; *Tvory*, 8:272-73) expresses unequivocally the importance of emotional content that only one's own language can provide, the postulate of a broad readership, and beyond that, still more radically, the claim (later to be developed by Kuliš) of the greater purity and antiquity of Ukrainian as opposed to Russian. It bears citing at length:

> There is no point in quarreling over the Little Russian *language* when neither side knows it in the least. There are beauties in it that are inexpressible in any other language, turns of phrase that are peculiarly its own, that are entirely original and that are already, unwittingly, being adopted by those who malign it (the *Biblioteka dlja čtenija*). Whatever the translation from our language into Russian, it will not by far preserve all or convey all. Both of the contending sides should be here, precisely here, to be persuaded by actual experience as to how, with what enthusiasm, and by whom everything written in our language is accepted. (I speak of the upper circles, with roots, the local people, not the newcomers.) Stories need several editions, the plays give the owners of provincial theaters a substantial income in any season. Who is the audience for all this? The simple people do not read much. My *Lysty k zemljakam*, written precisely for them, have not reached everyone. Nevertheless, many people read, and not only because they have nothing better to do. ... In a word, if you were to travel in our *gubernias* (and there are many of them) and not in the major cities, you would see that one can and one must write in our own language. ... The *raskol* raised by *Russian* journalists against our language will not exist for long. Let *our* youth mature, become fully fledged, i.e., become accustomed to the pen, and they will show and prove that the Great Russian language is only a dialect of several *gubernias*, a child, and not the oldest at that, of *our* language, the oldest and truly Slavic son. ... The true Russian language is not to be found in drawing rooms, nor in books nor in Russian journals. Try to write an article without foreign words, without foreign terms and expressions. It is impossible. But in our language it is possible, and it is pure, and smooth, and quite inexpressible in any other language. (Emphases in the original.)

a national experience, past and present, and a unique ethos, one in which the comic and the burlesque played an important, traditional role. Unfortunately, it appears that for Čyževs'kyj this is precisely what determines the alleged diversionary nature of this literature—as if expression of traditional and emotional values could be simply a "diversion." By the same token, there is little justification for speaking of this literature as something undertaken in imitation of other literatures. While particular conventions and genres may indeed have been adopted, and this is true of all national literatures, the prime motivation flowed from the native soil; its spirit and "content," and to a great extent its "form," were *sui generis* and unborrowed.

H. "ROMANTICISM"

1. The Chapter on Romanticism is probably the best chapter in the *History*, for several basic reasons. One is Čyževs'kyj's undisguised empathy for this period. Another is his abandonment of the usual schema: instead of approaching the period synchronically, by genre, and thus largely bypassing internal developments as well as the general cultural context, Čyževs'kyj for the first time treats the period diachronically, focusing on such historically valid subdivisions as the "Xarkiv Romantic School," "Kievan Romanticism," West Ukrainian Romanticism, "Late Romanticism," etc. The result is a fuller and more balanced treatment, and one in which the student, for the first time perhaps, has a literary period presented in historical perspective and with concerted reference to a broader social and cultural context. In fact, Čyževs'kyj explicitly calls attention to this new approach as in an earlier chapter (actually an excursus) on "The Literature of 'National Revival'" he states that "beginning with Romanticism, the material will be divided not according to literary genre, but according to author, for the Romantic period in Ukraine produced a fundamental change in the psychology of the author and in his attitude toward his work." "In this world," he continues,

> man was the focus of attention for the Romantic worldview; and in works of literature, the subject was the author, either real or fictitious (as in instances of pseudonyms, or in attempts to speak in the name of an omniscent author, or a *kobzar* minstrel, etc.). Former times had numerous pseudonymous, anonymous, or "pseudoepigraphic" works (attributed by the author to someone else—e.g., poetry or *Istorija Rusiv* [*The History of the Russes*]). Since the time

of Romanticism, every author has had his own literary biography (only *literary* biographies interest us in this book). Accordingly, it is impossible to fragment the creativity of a particular author, and to insert his individual works in different divisions in the book. (368-69)

This argument, however, is problematical—not because Čyževs'kyj himself ends by "splitting" Ševčenko between two different sections (i.e., "Kievan Romanticism" and "Late Romanticism") and not because Ukrainian Romantics were particularly fond of pseudonyms (Amvrosij Mohyla, Jeremija Halka, Is'ko Materynka, Pan'ko Nebrexa, etc.),[122] but because it is not at all clear why it is only with Romanticism that authors begin to have *literary* biographies. Is it only a Romantic (and then post-Romantic) literary consciousness that confers this? Do Kotljarevs'kyj and Hulak-Artemovs'kyj have any less a "literary biography" than do Kostomarov or Ševčenko? And *in principle*, i.e., apart from availability of data, why should the biographies of Vyšens'kyj or Velyčkovs'kyj or Skovoroda not be the stuff of *literary* biographies? And, indeed, what is a "literary biography"? Surely it is not to be identified with Romantic self-consciousness or the Romantic pose? One feels here that Čyževs'kyj is making, on the one hand, virtue or theory out of necessity (i.e., the lacking or fragmentary data on pre-nineteenth century writers), and, on the other, adapting, as Šerex notes,[123] his approach to the critical tradition and the expectations it has established.

2. Another reason for Čyževs'kyj's success with this chapter stems from the fact that in contrast to the preceding periods, Romanticism in Ukrainian literature was indeed a conscious and at times even a programmatic movement, one which to an unprecedented degree was modelled on existing literary theories and conventions in the neighboring Polish and Russian and also in the more distant West European literatures. Thus, while his fine synoptic overview of the Romantic Weltanschauung still pertains much more to the Western literatures than to Ukrainian literature (for example, as regards Romanticism's anti-Enlightenment stance, or its interest in the Baroque, or its Medievalism), the overall picture is quite informative. Particularly valuable is his linking of Romanticism with national "reawakening," with the rediscovery, through historicism and folklore,

122 I.e., respectively, Metlyns'kyj, Kostomarov, Bodjans'kyj and Kuliš.

123 "Na ryštuvannjax ...," p. 2.

of the idea of *nationhood* as such, as well as the true observation (which by some is applied to all "minor literatures") that Romanticism left a marked impression on all subsequent literary development, and penetrated profoundly into the national consciousness" (445). These and similar insights provide a valuable framework for the student's orientation in this period.

3. Nevertheless, the exposition has flaws, large and small. One such "small" flaw (and the adjective refers not to the intrinsic importance of the problem but to its delimited and specific nature) surfaces in the treatment of Ševčenko's metrics, which comes at the very beginning of the discussion of the poet. Here Čyževs'kyj argues that "gradually he cultivated meters typical of folk songs such as the *kolomyjka* (rhythmical dance tune), 8a, 8b, 8c, 6b (*sic!*) ... and the *koljadka* (Christmas carol) ... ." "Ševčenko," he continues,

> rejected the tradition of regularly alternating stress (found in Kotljarevs'kyj, in imitation of Russian poetry). In his verses the alternation of stresses is considerably freer, in accordance with the laws of Ukrainian folk poetry: a rhythmic unit is composed not of one or two syllables, but of an entire line. (499-500)

The passage is completed by a footnote: "The discovery of the folk character of Ševčenko's poetry can be attributed to S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj. Further contributions to this scholarship have been made by Kyryl Taranovs'kyj who, however, often seems to adapt Ševčenko's versification to his own theories" (500). All this is wrong. To begin, Ševčenko's so-called *kolomyjka* and *koljadka* rhythms, while modelled on folk meters, are also determined by the syllabo-tonic principle, i.e., by the presence of binary and ternary rhythms (iambs, trochees, amphibrachs, etc.) and not simply by the syllabotonism of the folk meter. (The schema of the *kolomyjka* meter is usually given as $[4 + 4 + 6]2$, and not as given here.) If the "discovery" of the folk character of Ševčenko's verse is to be attributed to anyone, it is to Pantelejmon Kuliš, who argued this in 1861.[124] What was acceptable then, however, was no longer good scholarship at the time of Smal'-Stoc'kyj. His conception of Ševčenko's versification, namely, that his rhythms are based solely on the metrical system of Ukrainian

[124] Cf. N. P. Čamata's recent overview of scholarship on Ševčenko's versification in *Ševčenkoznavstvo: Pidsumky j problemy* (Kiev, 1975), and also the monograph by H. K. Sydorenko, *Rytmika Ševčenka* (Kiev, 1967).

folk songs (i.e., that the rhythmic unit comprises the entire line) has been decisively rebutted by a host of scholars, beginning with B. Navrockyj, A. Šamraj, O. Doroškevyč, and F. Kolessa.[125] The accompanying notion, borrowed from Smal'-Stoc'kyj, that "Ševčenko rejected the tradition of regularly alternating stress" (by which Čyževs'kyj evidently means syllabotonism in general and iambic tetrameter in particular) is also manifestly wrong. Not only does iambic tetrameter figure in the first poem of the first *Kobzar* (i.e., "Pryčynna") and not only does it play from the beginning a significant role in all of Ševčenko's poetry, it becomes in the later poetry considerably more pronounced. A major analysis of Ševčenko's use of this meter, with special reference to comparative statistical data and with reference to the functional role of this (and other meters) in Ševčenko's poems, and with particular consideration of how his model differs from the Puškinean and the Kotljarevskean, was made by Kiril Taranovsky.[126] For Čyževs'kyj casually to slight these investigations and in the face of the scholarship of the last fifty years to fall back on the discredited and basically unscholarly notions of Smal'-Stoc'kyj is unfortunate. When one considers this, and the casual and indefensible claim that "Ševčenko did not simply paraphrase folk songs—he created songs which *are* folk songs in nature" (498) (as if the creativity of a literate city dweller could ever *be* folk art), and the repeated confusion of syllabotonic with tonic meters (cf. pp. 479, 541, 578, and passim) and finally the looseness and impressionism of the analyses (to the extent that they are that and not mere enumerations) of Ševčenko's rhythmic or euphonic devices, one sees the degree to which the already noted tendency to popularize undercuts the scholarship. It is only this consideration, and the sense of an unsophisticated audience which it implies, that would allow Čyževs'kyj to say, with all apparent seriousness, that "Occasionally in Ševčenko's poetry, it is the considerations of sound and the musical qualities of language rather than the idea behind a poem which governs its choice of words and syntax" (510). One would have to conclude that he still believes that poetry is written with ideas, not words.

4. Different problems arise with different writers. It seems highly questionable, for example, to say of Metlyns'kyj that his poetry "is

[125] Čamata, *Ševčenkoznavstvo*, p. 438.

[126] See his "Četvorostopni jamb T. Ševčenka," *Južnoslovenski filolog* (Beograd), 20, nos. 1-4 (Belgrade, 1953-54): 143-90.

philosophical throughout—for the most part, historico-philosophical" (468). The qualification that follows ("Admittedly, it is that kind of philosophical poetry in which every thought appears only in concrete form, as an image") does not help, for in fact what we have in Metlyns'kyj's poetry is not philosophy (be it concrete or abstract or historical) but pathos and sentiment and nostalgia for the past. The distinction between these things should perhaps be maintained. The tendency in Ukrainian (and not only Ukrainian) criticism to call "philosophical" any poetry that approaches the contemplative mode is deep, but misguided nonetheless.

5. A more significant problem, and a more general instance of what is probably a hasty conclusion, occurs when Čyževs'kyj discusses the earliest Romantics, i.e., Borovykovs'kyj and Metlyns'kyj, as "true Romantics" (458) without any qualification. But a qualification may be necessary. In the case of Borovykovs'kyj the very fact of the Classicist legacy in his writing (which Čyževs'kyj does note) might cause a moment's hesitation; but it is in his "Romanticism" itself that the problem lies, for those elements which for Čyževs'kyj are decisive ("The thematic material ... is genuinely Romantic—the flight at night with a dead lover, Romantic landscapes and Romantic tableaux ..." [458]) are in fact indicative of something else. As with Žukovskij, the Gothic atmosphere and setting point to a pre-Romantic rather than a Romantic poetics. Many of the elements that Čyževs'kyj stresses—night, cliffs, storms, graves, dead lovers, etc.—are the typical *obstanovka* of, for example, the pre-Romantic "graveyard school" in English poetry (Gray, Collins, Young et al.). In and of themselves these elements of setting (which Čyževs'kyj also calls "thematic material") do not constitute a Romantic Weltanschauung, or vision, or poetics. As Cleanth Brooks notes, "With many of the [English] pre-Romantics, it is almost sufficient merely to point to the new poetic objects—owls, ivy, ruined towers, and yew trees. Indeed, some of their poems may be considered as little more than display cases filled with collections of such objects tied loosely together with appropriate interjections ... ." (The corresponding Ukrainian "display cases" contain the steppe, burial mounds, Cossack lances and sabres, and *banduras*.) And Brooks's next statement applies equally to English and to Ukrainian literature: "Perhaps never before or since have poetic terms become cliches so rapidly; and this is a

measure of the weight of the dependence placed upon them in securing the poetic effect."[127] The poetry of Borovykovs'kyj, Metlyns'kyj, and the early Kostomarov is defined principally by mood (nostalgia for the past, melancholy) and setting (primarily a gloomy and exotic Ukraine). Such genuinely Romantic traits as a sense of the primacy of the poetic ego and the creative imagination, as greatly heightened self-awareness and the consequent sense of alienation from society, as the symbolic apprehension of the world and the central role given to irony, all these are present only in embryo, if at all. The fact of turning to folklore and folk song for inspiration does not make these poets (to use the terms favored by the translators) "full-fledged" or "full-blown" Romantics—especially when history, the other pillar of Romantic ideology, is for the most part represented only as vague reminiscence (cf. Metlyns'kyj's "Step" or "Kladovyšče," or Kostomarov's "Mohyla") or as Gothic story (e.g., Metlyns'kyj's "Pidzemna cerkva") or—and this is quite revealing—as moral and political lesson, very much in the pre-Romantic spirit of Niemcewicz or Ryleev (cf. Kostomarov's "Spivec' Mytusa"). In short, the qualified, tentative, indeed pre-Romantic nature of the early Ukrainian Romantics must be recognized. (The same applies to the West Ukrainian early Romantics: it is indicative, for example, that Šaškevyč translates not only from Goszczyński's blood-and-horror Romantic *Zamek kaniowski*, but also from the softly sentimental and classicist Karpiński, or that Ustjanovyč, surely the best of these poets, has a diction and stance that is determined as much if not more by a Classicist rather than a Romantic poetics.) A true and full establishment of Romanticism comes only with Ševčenko.

6. Čyževs'kyj's treatment of the other end of the spectrum, the late Romantics, may also evoke some reservations. For one, the poet Jakiv Ščoholiv is not discussed at all. He is mentioned only in passing, once at the end of the section on the Xarkiv school, where Čyževs'kyj notes, quite correctly, that he was "probably the most distinguished poet of the Xarkiv circle," and then again in the chapter on Realism (and once or twice more). It appears that Ščoholiv did not quite fit into any of the subdivisions of Ukrainian Romanticism, nor subsequently merit any attention under the rubric of Realism. This is

[127] Cleanth Brooks, "Notes for a Revised History of English Poetry," in *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 233-34.

regrettable, because in terms of artistic achievement, and in the light he casts on the nature of Ukrainian Romanticism, he was an important poet—certainly more important than a Metlyns'kyj or a Šaškevyč or a Padurra, each of whom is discussed at length.[128] (Ščoholiv's influence, to be sure, was not great—but, except for Ševčenko, no Romantic can be said to have been influential.) In contrast, the prosaist Oleksa Storoženko, an undoubtedly belated Romantic, is given more attention, but one wonders whether Čyževs'kyj's estimation of him is not unduly harsh. He is unmoved (indeed rather repelled) by Storoženko's humor, and he faults him for lacking the "deep ideological approach found in Gogol'" (?!) (566). (In this, as in several other places, Čyževs'kyj seems to be following the lead of Franko—and Jefremov.)[129] But clearly neither "impropriety" (cf. "Also common are coarse jokes as well as excessively crude incidents [brawls, etc.]; nor did Storoženko shrink from elements of impropriety even when largely irrelevant to the development of the narrative"; 565) nor, *pace* Franko, lack of ideology, nor even the fact of being "belated" or "outdated" is really an appropriate criterion for evaluation.

7. The last late Romantic whose treatment should also perhaps be questioned is Stepan Rudans'kyj. This poet gets no more attention than does Ščoholiv. What is more, Čyževs'kyj is inclined to see only his "early" work as Romantic, and claims that "the style, language and composition of the majority of Rudans'kyj's works, even his ballads, were in the spirit of the new literary current, Realism" (567). In fact, however, when one takes the fundamental criteria into consideration—his conception of the role of the poet and the role of poetry, his vision of the Ukraine and its past—Rudans'kyj is seen to be a genuine Romantic.[130] More than that, Rudans'kyj must be judged a very important poet, both for his poetic achievement and for the light he sheds on the deep processes occurring in Ukrainian literature. Specifically, this concerns his elaboration of a broad range of poetic forms, quite independently of the Ševčenkian tradition, and beyond that of a literary theory, a poetics based on folk and oral poetry. The term *spivomovky*, erroneously applied by Franko

[128] Cf. M. Zerov, "'Nepryvitanyj spivec': Ja. Ščoholiv" in *Do džerel* (Cracow, 1943).
[129] Cf. Ivan Franko, *Narys istoriji ukrajins'ko-rus'koji literatury* (L'viv, 1910).
[130] Cf. the valuable introduction to the third edition of Rudans'kyj's works (Kiev, 1972) by P. Kolesnyk; this edition is not mentioned in the bibliography.

and later critics only to his short humorous poems, was applied by Rudans'kyj to poetry as such; the terminology and the poetic practice was a radical break with the accreted norms and conventions of literature, and was expressive of a desire to go back to the deepest —oral, musical, mythopoeic—roots of poetry. The culmination of this was his translation of the *Iliad*, his *Omerova Il'jonjanka*, which in its radical "Ukrainianization" illustrated his personal theory of poetry and also was perhaps the most developed expression of a long tradition in Ukrainian literature of relying on native forms and modes.[131] For Čyževs'kyj, not surprisingly, these are only "strange transformations" (*dyvovyžni peretovmačennja*; 567/474).

8. The centerpiece of the chapter is, understandably, Ševčenko. The attention Čyževs'kyj devotes to him is considerable and the importance he assigns to him as a poet and an influence on Ukrainian literature is unqualified, and yet for all that, the picture of Ševčenko tends to be incomplete and unbalanced. And this follows directly from the basic premises of Čyževs'kyj's approach. The problem is not that he divides Ševčenko between two periods as noted above (in one sense this could be justified), nor that he does not qualify the designation of "Romantic" for Ševčenko's late poetry. These are complex issues that could hardly be developed fully here, and they are secondary to the extent that they deal more with periodization than actual content. The real problem is that Čyževs'kyj does not develop, or, as the case may be, does not even mention some basic aspects of Ševčenko's work, aspects and moments without which Ševčenko cannot be fully understood.

Čyževs'kyj begins by discussing Ševčenko's versification and prosody and then moves to instrumentation, tropes, and language. This is done with copious ilustrations, but the illustrative material is not used strictly analytically: more often than not these are catalogues and mere "appreciations." This takes up well over half of the space allotted to the poetry. The remaining topics that are treated are Ševčenko's ballads, his use of the "Byronic poem," his "themes" (by which Čyževs'kyj means "the fantastic," "madness," "suicide," and "torture, fire, the murder of one's children, capital punishment" [519]), and then his "few basic ideas and concepts," i.e., *Slovo*, *Pravda*, *Slava*, etc. (521). In the subsequent section on "Late Romanticism"

[131] Cf. above.

the discussion is only slightly amplified: Čyževs'kyj observes, for example, that "his work was still characterized by the features of the 'Byronic poem' or the Romantic 'free poem,'" and that "Ballads were the only genre in which Ševčenko ceased to write during this period" (537); he concedes that "The proportion of social and political (including anti-clerical sentiments) poems was augmented"; "but" he adds "this merely reflected the general mood of the times" (538); he argues that "Thematically, the sole new element was the rejection of the Ukrainian historical subject matter" (538) and in the final paragraph notes Ševčenko's turning "to the individual, with special emphasis on his right to life and happiness," and the symbolism of the child and mother as expressing Messianic "hopes for the future Ukraine" (539).

8.1. Major aspects of Ševčenko's poetry are thus overlooked. There is no discussion, for example (perhaps because Soviet critics dwell on this so much), of Ševčenko's satire, on the Russian state (e.g., "Son," "Kavkaz"), on his countrymen (e.g., "I mertvym i žyvym ..."), on literary critics (*Hajdamaky*), on church dogma and biblical history ("Cari"). There is hardly any discussion of Ševčenko's political and social ideology. There is no discussion at all of Ševčenko's subtle irony—a feature so important to the Romantic poet—which he directs at the world, at his fate, at himself as a poet, at fame and glory, at various poetic conventions. There is not even mention of his inspired bitter humor, and, more generally, of the turbulent flow of emotions that constitutes the basic structure of most of his poetry.

8.2. Ševčenko's thematic range is presented reductively. His themes are much more resonant and symbolically charged than what is implied by Čyževs'kyj's enumeration of *plot lines* (madness, murder, suicide, etc.) or by the label of "Romantic horror." To take but one example, the murder of children by parents (cf. "Utoplenna" or *Hajdamaky*) is expressive of a deep symbolic structure, the totality of which can be called Ševčenko's myth of the Ukraine. (The central figures in this symbolic structure, one may add, are characteristically complex and emotionally polysemous: the mother, for example, who indeed stands for the Ukraine, is both sanctified and demonized; scenes and images of idyllic, holy love are—necessarily—balanced by incest, hate and murder.) On the other hand, history, the national past, the national experience is also a continuing, profound concern, and one that is

only modulated, not "rejected" or abandoned as Čyževs'kyj claims; between the early stereotyped Cossacophilism of "Ivan Pidkova" and "Tarasova nič" and the late poems, "Buvaly vojny i vijs'kovi svary" and "Jakby to ty Bohdane pjanyj" there is a long line of development, but the concern for the past and how it affects the present does not cease.

In all, Čyževs'kyj's treatment of Ševčenko, as regards both the passionate, emotional essence of his poetic drive and the complexity of his symbolic world, is woefully restricted; Ševčenko's protean genius is reduced in the discussion to a dessicated schema. An example from one of the many catalogues of quotations may illustrate the problem. The lines are from the poem "Knjažna":

> Selo! selo! veseli xaty,
> veseli zdaleka palaty ...

Čyževs'kyj breaks off the citation at this point and does not include the lines that follow:

> Bodaj vy ternom porosly!
> Ščob ljudy j slidu ne najšly,
> Ščob i ne znaly, dej šukaty ...

To be able to perform such an amputation in the process of making a point about "sonorous repetitions" is to reveal remarkable insensitivity to the meaning and emotional coloration and the integrity of the poetic statement. It is like ignoring an enjambment, or, in a different framework, like having schoolchildren declaim the passage that precedes these lines (beginning with "Selo!—i serce odpočyne" and ending with "Sam Boh vytaje nad selom") and turning that which is a bitter and ironic aside in a poem about incestuous rape—with God indifferently looking on: "I Boh ne znaje / A može znaje, ta movčyt'"—into a pious, rustic idyll. Unfortunately this is not an isolated case, but a synecdoche for Čyževs'kyj's approach.

8.3. However, our disappointment with this must be tempered by our awareness of the peculiar function and premises of the whole *History* (cf. above). In this context the treatment of Ševčenko (or any other writer) is more understandable, if still not persuasive. The emphasis on "formal" or stylistic matters clearly presupposes that the reader is acquainted with traditional readings of Ševčenko's poetry, his ideology, etc. Unfortunately, one cannot expect the English-

speaking reader (and the Ukrainian one as well) to be guided by or even to be aware of this tacit assumption. This reader, the beginning student, may even be surprised to learn—because Čyževs'kyj deems it too unimportant, or too well-known to mention—that until he was about twenty-four, Ševčenko was a serf. The literary import of this "detail" is far from insignificant; it might suggest, for example that for Ševčenko the idea of freedom is rather more than a "literary theme," or that for him it is qualitatively different than it is for, say, Byron.

9. A special problem are the so-called Ukrainian schools in Polish and Russian Romantic literature. They are undoubtedly important for an understanding of Ukrainian Romanticism, and they are, of course, significant for the respective literatures as well. They are also part of a larger, quite complex phenomenon, and Čyževs'kyj's failure to differentiate this phenomenon is the first and basic flaw in his treatment. The question of the Ukraine, or of Ukrainian themes in Polish and Russian Romanticism, is as broad as it is interesting, and one can hardly do justice to it here.[132] But at least one must note that the subject is much too heterogeneous, its internal differentiation much too basic, to warrant its being discussed, as was done by a contemporary, the Polish Romantic writer and critic, Michał Grabowski, as one "school."[133] This is particularly true of Russian literature. Here, for example, the differentiation in the literature on the Ukrainian historical theme, specifically the Cossack past, stems from differences of national (ethnic) background, as between such Ukrainians as Somov, Maksymovyč, and Gogol' on the one hand, and such Russians as Ryleev, Puškin, Bulgarin et al., on the other, and even more from intrinsic literary and ideological divergences existing between the pre-Romantic Decembrists (Glinka, Ryleev, and the "fellow traveler" Somov) and the later Romantics, including Puškin and Bulgarin, and, finally, in a category of one, Gogol', with his genuinely mythical treatment of the Ukrainian past.

The discussion of the Polish Romantic depiction of the Ukraine and its past is also problematical. To repeat once again Grabowski's formula, and say that "Strictly speaking, the Ukrainian school was limited

[132] See G. Grabowicz, "The History and Myth of the Cossack Ukraine in Polish and Russian Romantic Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975).

[133] Grabowski introduced this notion in his *Literatura i krytyka*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Vilnius, 1840).

to three Romantic poets: A. Malczewski [who] ... portrayed Ukraine during its knightly Cossack period; Bohdan Zaleski ... [who] ... celebrated an idyllic and elegiac Ukraine; and S. Goszczyński [with his] ... vision of *hajdamak* Ukraine" (453) is simplistic in the extreme. This may have been acceptable criticism in the 1840s; it is not now. To list such minor writers as Groza, Olizarowski, etc., and to omit Rzewuski, to pass over Czajkowski and the Cossacophilism he represents with one sentence, to include Słowacki only to mention his juvenile "Dumka ukraińska" and "Żmija" and to omit any mention of his deep and symbolic treatments of a tragic Polish-Ukrainian past in "Wacław," in *Beniowski*, and especially in *Sen srebrny Salomei*, is to apprehend the subject through a filter of worn-out clichés.

The fundamental problem with the so-called Ukrainian schools, however, is not the differentiation or the relative importance of the writers involved (though in their own right these are important matters), but a clear sense of the relation of this phenomenon to Ukrainian literature. In this regard, Čyževs'kyj's contention that those Ukrainian writers of the first half of the nineteenth century who wrote in Russian (and this includes virtually all, from Kotljarevs'kyj and Hulak to Ševčenko and Kuliš) "also contributed to the Ukrainian school of Russian literature" (452) must be re-examined. For we have not only significant, in fact essential, differences in the treatment and conception of the Ukraine by, say, Ryleev and Puškin on the one hand, and Ševčenko and Kuliš on the other, but also the much more important question of whether such writing as, for example, Ševčenko's prose should be considered "Russian literature." As we shall see, it definitely should not.

10. The final and "biggest" problem in this chapter is Čyževs'kyj's understanding of what constitutes the essence, so to speak, of Ukrainian Romanticism. For the most part, the final section on "The Significance of Ukrainian Romanticism" is true and balanced. (Perhaps the discussion of Romantic historicism is overly simplified, particularly with reference to the ideas of Ševčenko and Kuliš; cf. 582-83.) The recurring assertion of a central, defining principle in Ukrainian Romanticism is most problematical, however. Thus, in Čyževs'kyj's summation,

> The most important feature and contribution of Ukrainian Romanticism was its conscious attempt to create a "complete literature" capable of satisfying

the requirements of all circles and strata of Ukrainian society. The aspiration toward a complete literature was achieved chiefly in the creation of a "complete language," an all-'round language well suited for use in all spheres of literature and life. (580)

Assuming for the moment the theoretical validity of the concept of "complete literature" and "complete language," the question still remains whether there was a *conscious attempt* on the part of the Ukrainian Romantics to effect such completeness, and further, whether this attempt is "the most important" and implicitly the defining "feature and contribution of Ukrainian Romanticism."

10.1. It is clear from Čyževs'kyj's account that Ukrainian Romanticism was not at all characterized by literary manifestoes proclaiming a new conception of literature and attacking their literary predecessors, as in the so-called Battle of the Classicists with the Romantics in Polish literature.[134] As he points out in several places, a sharp demarcation between the Ukrainian "Classicists" and the Romantics was not in evidence: not only is there chronological overlapping, but the presence of both "styles" or modes is found in various writers (e.g., Hrebinka and Borovykovs'kyj, and even Hulak-Artemovs'kyj). The case for an ideological or programmatic rejection by the Romantics of their "Classicist" predecessors is also not clear (perhaps because the "Classicists" were not all that Classicist). While Ševčenko did refer to the *Enejida* in the introduction to the second, unpublished, *Kobzar* (1847) as "dobra, a vse-taky smixovyna na moskovs'kyj štalt,"[135] this must be understood in the context of the whole statement, *and* it must be balanced by the unqualified praise of his "Na vičnu pam"jat' Kotljarevs'komu."

10.2. However, even without manifestoes or clearly enunciated programs one can have a "conscious attempt," a new understanding of literature and its role. This one can readily accept. Moreover, in the sense that every new movement, school and development makes any literature more "complete," i.e., fuller or richer than it was before, Ukrainian Romanticism did create a "more complete literature." But Čyževs'kyj has a different "completeness" in mind. For him this is, on the one hand, expansion of the range of forms and

[134] See *Walka klasyków z romantykami*, ed. Stefan Kawyn (Wrocław, 1960).
[135] See Taras Ševčenko, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv u šesty tomax* (Kiev, 1964), 6: 314.

genres, coupled with an admittedly conscious, unabashed modeling on other literatures, the Western and the neighboring Slavic. And this too can be readily accepted. On the other hand, however, Čyževs'kyj points to a particular "content" in this "more complete" literature. To his mind this is above all the establishment of a higher level of sophistication, specifically by making the literature and the language more acceptable for "educated society." This he sees among others in Metlyns'kyj and Kostomarov (cf. p. 472), in Petrenko ("[his] work is signi[fi]cant and unique in that he forsook folk song subject matter and attempted to relate the language and themes of his romances more closely to the spiritual life of the educated person"; 477), in Kuliš (but only in one prose work: "Perhaps the only story written for the educated reader was 'Potomky ukrajins'koho hajdamactva' ..."; 555), and generally in the whole Romantic movement. This line of reasoning, one may submit, is misleading. To begin, the greater "sophistication" of Romanticism (as opposed to the preceding "Classicism") can be argued only on the basis of artistic, formal and technical achievements, effective linguistic means, the gamut of themes and genres, etc., but not on the basis of a more educated audience, since the audience, whether for Kotljarevs'kyj or Hulak-Artemovs'kyj, Ševčenko or Kuliš, was one. Čyževs'kyj says as much when he notes that the works of the Romantics and those of the "older generation" were published side by side in various almanacs and periodicals (cf. p. 456). More importantly, a conscious desire to accomodate literature to the tastes and expectations of "educated society" is certainly not in evidence on the thematic plane. In fact, the search for inspiration in history, in the national experience, in folklore *as the repository of the emotional life of the nation* was often made in the face of precisely such "educated expectations" (cf. Ševčenko's sarcastic reply to the Russian reviewers of his *Kobzar* in the introduction to *Hajdamaky*). That the language of literature (that is, not only the verbal but also the artistic medium) was expanded is clear, but not only did it not become, as Čyževs'kyj is forced to admit (and we accept the term only provisionally), "a 'complete language,' an all-'round language well suited for use in all spheres of literature and life" (580), it is questionable whether such a conscious attempt existed. Russian, after all, was still freely used as the language of scholarship and of belles-lettres, particularly prose, by even the most "patriotic" writers (Ševčenko, Kuliš et al.). On the other hand, some of the writers central to the Romantic movement (e.g., Met-

lyns'kyj and Maksymovyč) were convinced that Ukrainian was a dying language, or at least existing only on a regional and somewhat artificial basis.[136]

The introduction of a "high style" on the other hand was an important development. As Shevelov has argued,[137] this is the major contribution of Petrenko's poetry, but this "high style," characterized by contemplative Weltschmertz, does not of itself warrant identification with poetry for the "educated." In fact, the other, dominant strain in Ukrainian Romanticism—Ševčenko's—was in no lesser way

[136] Metlyns'kyj's "Zametki otnositel'no južnorusskogo jazyka" (the introduction to his first collection of poetry *Dumky i pisni ta šče deščo* [Xarkiv, 1839]), in which he describes with obvious enthusiasm and love the beauties of the Ukrainian language, begins, nonetheless, with these words:

> The South Russian language which was spoken by our first Chroniclers who preserved, from the flood of time, as in an ark, the testament of the founders of the Russian State for posterity, the South Russian language in which our fathers sang, in their *dumy*, the life and glory of Southern Rus', that holy cradle of a powerful State, the language in which, most probably, were spoken the speeches of the Kievan Princes, the forefathers of our Orthodox Tsars, [the language] whose words and expressions sound to this day in Holy Writ ... the South Russian language, I say, *is forgotten and grows silent from day to day, and there will come a time when it will be forgotten, and will grow silent* ... . (Emphasis mine.)

Cf. also his poem "Smert' bandurysta," with these opening lines of the *banduryst's* song:

Грім напусти на нас, Боже, спали нас в пожарі,
Бо і в мені, і в бандурі вже глас замирає!
Вже не гримітиме, вже не горітиме, як в хмарі,
Пісня в народі, бо вже наша мова конає!

On the other hand, he balances this with feelings of hope for a rebirth of the language. Thus: "No možet byt' i to, čto v epoxu prenebreženija južnorusskogo jazyka ljubov' k nemu prosnetsja"; see also his poem "Ridna mova." Cf. *Ukrajins'ki poety-romantyky 20-40-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1968), pp. 152, 175, 177, and passim.

Maksymovyč's views on this matter are succinctly expressed in his letter to the Galician russophile D. Zubryc'kyj (22 April 1840), in which he suggests that West Ukrainian writers write in Ukrainian, but argues that for the Ukrainian writers in the Russian Empire, Russian has become a natural medium. Here, too, he clearly distinguishes between the meaning of "Great Russian" and "Russian," with the latter signifying a common state, patrimony and *lingua franca* (cf. below):

> Here, in the Russian Empire, *the Great Russian language has become the Russian language*, and we speak it, write in it, and think in it as in a common language, one that is also used in the Ukraine (among the educated classes). *Therefore everything that is written in Little Russian is to some extent already artificial, having only a regional interest*, as that written in the Alemannic dialect for the Germans. *We cannot have a literature in the South Russian language; there can only be—and there are—discrete works*—by Kotljarevs'kyj, Kvitka (Osnov"janenko), Hrebinka, and others. (First emphasis mine.)

First published (in Russian) in the journal *Halyčanyn* 1, no. 2 (1863): 107-109. Cf. *Xrestomatija materialiv z istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, ed. P. D. Tymošenko, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1959), p. 204 and passim.

[137] George Y. Shevelov, "Z istoriji ukrajins'koho romantyzmu," pp. 757-66.

directed at the "educated"; in contrast to Petrenko, however, Ševčenko charged his poetry with the realia of Ukrainian life, and his images and diction were drawn from what we may call "popular experience." The difference between these two Romantic styles is, as Shevelov shows, significant, but it can hardly be said to hinge on the issue of education or appeal to the educated. It is safe to say that while there certainly was development, a genuine *differentiation* among readers of Ukrainian literature probably did not occur until well into the twentieth century. In the early nineteenth century there was *one* audience, one market, be it for Hulak-Artemovs'kyj or Kuliš, the purveyors of the so-called *kotljarevščyna* and the *Kulturträgers*. If only for this reason, Čyževs'kyj's distinction between literature written "for the people" and for the "educated" does not conform to the actual state of affairs.

10.3. Two further points need mentioning here. One concerns the literary process itself. In the article noted above, Shevelov, after speaking of the severe difficulties and delays in publishing, the absence of a lively and continuous literary arena, in short, the whole "abnormality" of the Ukrainian literary scene, refers to the process of early nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature as a "proces-ne-proces," and concludes with the sobering reflection that "Today's historian of Ukrainian literature must do the work of an archeologist, and, for that matter, an archeologist digging up not former cities but models of cities that were never built."[138] This is an important consideration to keep in mind when dealing with any aspect of early nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature, and especially when formulating judgments on the whole of the period. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the existence of a literary process as such cannot be doubted. It may have been extremely complex and difficult and at times tenuous and discontinuous, but it was a process. Were it not, Ukrainian literature would have ceased to exist. The essential question for the scholar and historian is to determine its dynamics, to reconstruct the nature of this process. And this brings us to the second point. The process must not only be seen dynamically, it must also be seen contextually, that is, with full cognizance of the specificity of the cultural background, particularly of how it forms the stages of the process. A concept (borrowed from anthropology) which inte-

[138] Shevelov, "Z istoriji ukrajins'koho romantyzmu," p. 766.

grates both these frames of reference is that of cultural—in our case, literary—readiness. One of the first to apply it to Ukrainian literature (without using the term itself) was P. Fylypovyč, who in his fine article on Ševčenko and Ukrainian Romanticism focuses on the gradual, organic acceptance of various Romantic forms or models (e.g., Ossianism, Byronism), and shows it to be a reflection of the culture's growing readiness to absorb them.[139] This concept must inevitably become a principal tool for the literary historian.

11. In the light of these issues, Čyževs'kyj's approach must again seem somewhat reductive, especially in the tendency to make the literary process and the context secondary to formal considerations. Most reductive perhaps is the conception of Ukrainian Romanticism largely in terms of an alleged drive for completeness, for this reduces not only the history of the literature but literature itself to a "prime cause." The desire to perfect the language and the expressiveness of literature is part of the very definition of the literary process, though it is only one of its many constituent factors. For the individual writer, the artist, however, a programmatic concern for such "completeness" can hardly be seen as the *determining* motive behind his creativity. To claim otherwise is to project one's own mode of thinking on a different form of human activity.

I. "REALISM"

1. *Finis coronat opus*. The final chapter on Realism is the major contribution of this English version of Čyževs'kyj's *History*. Where in preceding chapters the emendations, if any, were minor (an added paragraph or sentence here and there, the transposition of Vyšens'kyj from the Renaissance to the Baroque), now a whole new period is introduced: rather than stopping with Romanticism, or with an excursus on the non-existent "Biedermeier" and "Natural Schools" in Ukrainian literature, we are taken through the nineteenth and into the beginning of the twentieth century. The absence of an original version makes it rather more difficult to review the translation, but that it is a translation, and that it has all the problems discussed earlier, is evident. Apart from that, the chapter speaks for itself, and

[139] Pavlo Fylypovyč, "Ševčenko i romantyzm," *ZIFV-[V]UAN*, 1924, no. 4, pp. 3-18.

in view of the fact that it speaks of a period in Ukrainian literature with which some readers may be relatively acquainted—given the traditional emphasis and the general availability of texts and critical studies—it is inevitable that the first impression of a reader would be that this chapter, which treats the literature of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth in thirty pages, is tacked on, dashed off, "written on the knee," so to speak. Apparently, this reaction was shared by the editor, for in his "Foreword" he notes that "The last chapter, on Realism, which has been specially prepared for this edition, might, at first glance, seem inadequate." "However," he continues, "considering the weakness of Ukrainian Realism (in comparison with Russian and Polish literatures) it is not surprising that this period is treated as a transitional one" (ix-x). This is hardly an adequate explanation. Apart from the totally spurious "comparativism"—by the same token one could also dismiss Ukrainian Classicism and Romanticism as not being "as good" as the Russian and Polish ones—the suggestion that Ukrainian Realism warrants a superficial treatment because the period is "transitional" is doubly false. First, regardless of where one draws the boundaries, i.e., regardless of whether one includes such writers as Marko Vovčok and Stepan Rudans'kyj on one end and Lesja Ukrajinka on the other (which Čyževs'kyj does, and which is questionable, especially in the case of the latter), a period that encompasses such writers as Svydnyc'kyj, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, Panas Myrnyj, Franko and Makovej, the poets Hrinčenko, Hrabovs'kyj, Samijlenko and others, is clearly important. Second, even if one were to concede that "Realism" in Ukrainian literature is "transitional," namely, that the preceding Romanticism and the following Modernism witnessed greater artistic achievements, it would still not justify a casual treatment.

Čyževs'kyj's own explanation of this chapter is somewhat disingenuous, as well. "At the time I was preparing my book" he says in a footnote "... I was unable to provide a concluding chapter on Realism. This was due chiefly to the fact that the libraries in which I was working, in Europe and in the United States, lacked the writings of the Ukrainian Realists." It is rather difficult to envision the library that would have Velyčkovs'kyj and Prokopovyč, or for that matter Kvitka and Kostomarov, and not have Panas Myrnyj or Franko; given the general availability of these writings—then and now—one would hardly need a library. But Čyževs'kyj goes on to say something more revealing: "I wish here to present on a different

scale than in the book proper, albeit in the form of a brief study, an outline of the literature of this period. I admit that this study will not be exhaustive and that it will probably have a considerable subjective coloration" (588). The candid admission of subjectivity and selectivity seems to imply that a thorough study may be in order—a view explicitly stated by Čyževs'kyj in the introduction to the original edition: "Zakinčujemo vyklad istoriji literatury v cij knyzi romantykoju. Literatura doby realizmu ta modernyx porealistyčnyx tečij *duže šyroka ta vymahatyme knyhy takoho ž obsjahu, jak i cja*" (p. 22; emphasis mine). The author, we may conclude, does not share the editor's notions about the importance of this period.

2. The chapter, as usual, begins with a general discussion of the concept of the period, or "What, in fact, is realism?" (588). For Čyževs'kyj this is above all the question of realist "style," which he, apparently following the lead of Roman Jakobson, sees as basically metonymical, whereas the Romantic style was metaphorical (589-90). From this principle, this prime cause, he adduces the very essence of Realist poetics:

> With the advent of Realism more information came to be known about an object—not through comparison but through expanding its depiction to include the origin of the object, its development, and its surroundings. A maiden was, therefore, not seen as a flower but as the child of a certain social class and a detailed description was provided of her childhood environment, her upbringing and her early life, etc. A person was to be defined according to his social class. Because of the requirement imposed on a work, that it contain such information about its characters, its dimensions were broadened and the surroundings became almost as important as the object itself. Realism thus was a "metonymic style": it is because of this that the sweep of Realist creations is much greater than that of Romantic writings. The imperative created for Ukrainian literature by these large-scale works was onerous indeed. (590)

Such a distinction between Romantic and Realist styles is not without validity, of course, but it is questionable whether it is sufficient for a historical perspective, whether it gives an adequate and balanced picture—not of "Realist style" in its pure form—but of this period of Ukrainian literature. For beyond this stylistic differentiation and a concomitant discussion of the development of the Ukrainian literary language (with special focus on the lexical divergences between Western and Eastern Ukrainian; cf. pp. 591-92) Čyževs'kyj has little to say about the basic features of Ukrainian Realism.

The question of the new thematics of Realism is touched upon only tangentially, as a corollary to the language question, i.e.:

> ... Realism consciously limited literary themes to those spheres in which the Ukrainian language was already being used—the depiction of the village and its inhabitants, and, to a limited degree, the portrayal of a small-size city and certain intellectual circles who still used Ukrainian in their daily lives. This corresponded to 'reality' and consequently was deemed to be 'realistic.' (591)

There is hardly any discussion of the formation, tentative as it may have been, of new literary ideologies, of new conceptions of the role of the writer and new perceptions of his audience. There is no discussion, for example, of the growing concern with the psychology of the individual, and the varied and at times quite successful approaches to this—in Svydnyc'kyj, Nečuj-Levyc'kyj, Panas Myrnyj and Franko, and its culmination in Les' Martovyč's *Zabobon*. Only in the case of Franko is this issue raised. Of Svydnyc'kyj's *Ljuborac'ki*, the first work to treat the psychology of the individual against the background of ominous social processes, the dissolution of the old patriarchal order, the destructive effects of denationalization, Čyževs'kyj finds only this to say:

> The novel, Svydnyc'kyj's major work (apart from minor contributions to periodicals), was written in the style of a chronicle, mainly as a long series of conversations. The nature of the chronicle also allowed the use of Polish and Russian expressions by individual characters. There are no idyllic scenes or positive heroes whatever in this chronicle novel, the account of an unfortunate clerical family—in particular, of the son who bears the author's name, Anatol'. (595)

3. As in the opening remarks so also in the discussion of individual writers, the only extended focus is on "linguistic elements" and the given writer's approach to the literary language. Thus we are told that "[Nečuj-]Levyc'kyj's greatest skill, linguistic characterization, ensured moreover that the language of his works was not only truly popular but, above all, feminine speech" (596). (We also learn that his stories frequently lacked a "dominant idea"[?] and humor[!].) On the other hand, of Panas Myrnyj, whose novels and tales were "on a considerably higher spiritual level," we learn that he "employed the common language exclusively" (598). A minor writer, Olena Pčilka, gets disproportionate attention—as much as Myrnyj or Nečuj-Levyc'kyj—because of her views on the literary language and her contributions (illustrated by various examples) to an "intellectual language." Most

of the discussion of M. Staryc'kyj centers around his (largely unsuccessful) attempts to coin a new literary idiom. Even the treatment of Franko, the only one to show some balance, is heavily inclined in this direction. It also offers such insights as

> Franko ... expressed his hopes for a proletarian (scientific) socialism, and with much superior force as illustrated by his striking and expressive tableaux *Boryslavs'ki opovidannja* (*Boryslav Stories*). He supported the Eastern Ukrainians in their linguistic struggle as a matter of course, and to the extent that he studied the language, including that of Nečuj-Levyc'kyj. Stylistically, however, he was schooled in the West (which in no way lessens his merits)—or, to be more specific, he had to create his own style. It was only with Lesja Ukrajinka that Franko was connected—but this was through a certain world view. (604)

and: "Franko's creativity, too, was aimed at the intellectuals—who, however, may indeed have sprung from the comon people. The times had already produced such people" (606).

4. Apart from the question of the development of the Ukrainian literary language, the discussion of this period is perfunctory and idiosyncratic. Some important writers are not discussed at all, and only their names are mentioned in passing, e.g., M. Pavlyk, P. Hrabovs'kyj, V. Samijlenko; major writers whose work (at least in part if not in its totality) corresponds to "Realism"—the early Kocjubyns'kyj, and Vynnyčenko—or who develop from and maintain some continuity with Realist traditions—Osyp Makovej, Vasyl' Stefanyk, Les' Martovyč—are also not considered. (The latter three are not even mentioned.) At the same time, Čyževs'kyj does see fit to bring in the "Modernists"—Voronyj, Oles', Karmans'kyj et al.—and, above all, to dilate at the end on a writer who certainly does not belong here at all, namely, the neo-Romantic Lesja Ukrajinka.

5. This finale is most revealing—not only in its "form," i.e., the fact that proportionately the greatest attention of the chapter on "Realism" is devoted to a writer who is manifestly not a Realist, but especially in its "content," i.e., in Čyževs'kyj's opinions on her role in the Ukrainian literary process. For Lesja Ukrajinka provides him with the perfect platform from which to confront Ukrainian Realism, and Ukrainian literature in general. With Lesja Ukrajinka Čyževs'kyj has the ideal objective correlative for his sense of dissatisfaction—let us be more explicit—his sense of embarrassment and shame for much if not all of Ukrainian literature of this time.

Above all this is occasioned by the state of the Ukrainian theater at the end of the nineteenth century, with its worn-out ethnographism, with its tired tradition of the "pojuščij i pljaščuščij narod." In discussing the plays of Staryc'kyj, Čyževs'kyj had noted that "With such precepts [the necessity of scenic effects, colorful ethnographic material, etc.], the theater could hardly become an educational medium for the people, much less for the intelligentsia" (612). (To the extent that Staryc'kyj had a pedagogical intent, the issue is legitimate, but still not central to the literary value of the works in question.) In his summation of the phenomenon as a whole, however, we hear not the dispassionate judgment of a historian but the recollections of a mortified eyewitness:

> ... it was a diversion for the petty middle-class and the servant class; later, after 1905, soldiers were also admitted into Ukrainian theaters. In this way the respect of Ukrainian youth for "its theater" was lost; it waned gradually, but the principal consequence was that the theater had forfeited its influence. It remained little more than an opportunity to hear the Ukrainian language in a social situation and, at that, to observe the lack of comprehension of the illiterate audiences—their laughter at tragic scenes or for no reason at all other than hearing a language which for them was not only unaccustomed but also, for their society, inadmissible. *Such a state of affairs reduced intelligent young people to despair and to a sense of national shame and disgrace.* (Emphasis mine; 613)

The dramas of Lesja Ukrajinka are taken as the happy antidote to this, and her work in general is seen as a transcending of the "limitations" of Realism: "Lesja Ukrajinka concludes the history of Ukrainian Realism having made the valuable contribution of a literary form which led literature far beyond the limits of Realism and which made Ukrainian literature a world literature for the first time" (615). The refrain that Lesja Ukrajinka "made Ukrainian literature a world literature for the first time" is an old cliché in Ukrainian, especially émigré, criticism, but Čyževs'kyj repeats it with the fervor of a true believer. Thus: "Lesja Ukrajinka raised Ukrainian literature to the level of a world literature, one which treats themes that are common and important to mankind as a whole (involving situations which happen not only in Ukraine, but everywhere in the world and at any moment in the historical process)" (616), or a bit further: "It was by disregarding the boundaries of a certain people or of a certain time that Lesja Ukrajinka, possibly for the first time in the history of Ukrainian literature, was able to create works that belonged to the heritage both of Ukraine and of the world (even Ševčenko's 'Cau-

casus' requires commentaries if it is to be read by a non-Ukrainian, while for the 'exotic' plays of Lesja Ukrajinka, they are unnecessary)," or "... if there are any Ukrainian works which are able to speak not only to fellow Ukrainians but also to humanity at large, these works are [her] dramatic poems—a fact that would hold true even if they had appeared in prose translation" (617). And finally this pronouncement:

> Lesja Ukrajinka took a phenomenal step beyond the narrow confines of Realism and beyond the confines of Ukrainian literature in general. It was an achievement which has been scarcely appreciated to the present day. Yet if the poetess really developed her own works as a result of having outgrown the positions of Realism (which is more than doubtful), then it was a great service on behalf of Realism toward the cause of Ukrainian literature which had otherwise suffered considerably because of this trend. (617)

In the tortured logic and syntax of the last sentence we have an example of schematism and reification at their most sublime—having "harmed" Ukrainian literature, Realism now "makes up for the damage" by producing Lesja Ukrajinka.

6. What is noteworthy in all these sentiments is that this "phenomenal step," this "great service" is seen as existing quite independently of actual artistic achievement. (Once or twice Čyževs'kyj concedes imperfections in Lesja Ukrajinka's work, but rejects the charge that her plays are rhetorical and grandiloquent as "amazing allegations." "They forgot" he says of those who think so, "that rhetorical and declamatory elements were also found in classical tragedy as well as in Shakespeare and in the dramas of French Classicism where they dominated the stage and enthralled the audience—and without drinking and dancing ..." [616]. The fact, however, is that Lesja Ukrajinka's poetry, especially the lyrical, but the dramatic as well, is frequently debilitated by rhetoricalness, and that the issue is not with rhetoric as such but the fact that it is bad rhetoric, overburdened with pathos and wordiness.) The basic point of Čyževs'kyj, and the traditional clichéd argument, is that by virtue of introducing "world themes" Lesja Ukrajinka was making Ukrainian literature into, or leading it unto the path of, world literature. This is patently absurd, and it is remarkable that a scholar of Čyževs'kyj's stature repeats it. A literary work, like a painting, like any work of art, is aesthetically valuable not by virtue of its subject matter but by the totality of its artistry, its "form-and-content." In the case of Lesja Ukrajinka the

"world themes" are no guarantee at all of artistic excellence (and it is telling that what is undoubtedly her best work—"Lisova pisnja"—is neither allegorical nor "historical" but rooted in native Ukrainian traditions). The question of how Lesja Ukrajinka's thematics *influenced* the Ukrainian literary process is a broader one, but it, too, is not divorced from considerations of artistic quality: ultimately the magnitude and effectiveness of literary influence is also measured by artistry and not merely by subject matter.

7. Underlying the facile generalizations about the "gigantic step the poetess had taken on to the field of world literature" (generalizations which, among other things, blithely disregard the above-discussed issue of the necessary cultural-literary readiness for this or any other "gigantic step") is the implicit, deep-seated and logically necessary conviction that Ukrainian literature and "world literature" are somehow two different things, that without the incorporation of certain "world themes" or reworkings of certain literary works (e.g., Don Juan), or at the very least writing "for humanity at large" in a manner that requires no "commentaries," Ukrainian literature is *not* world literature; *ergo* that it is somehow incomplete and inferior.

This nonsense is synthesized from several fallacies: the quasi-metaphysical notion of a monolithic "world literature," where in fact there is a manifold of synchronically and diachronically interpenetrating literary traditions and conventions; the ethnocentric, parochial and ahistorical perspective that allows one to see the complex web of these traditions and conventions—of which Ukrainian literature is an intrinsic part—in terms of the binary opposition Ukrainian literature/world literature; and, not least of all, an undercurrent of feelings of inferiority rushing to conclude that on the one hand, the "world theme" is intrinsically more valuable than one dealing with "purely Ukrainian" matters, and, on the other, that the latter cannot appeal to "humanity at large." Associated with all this is the naive self-deception that works with such "world themes" do in fact "speak" to "humanity at large." In fact, such works are quintessentially intended for Ukrainian consumption; the non-Ukrainian public (the "world," "humanity at large") is not as interested in another poem about Robert Bruce or another version of the Don Juan theme as it is—given a good translation—in a story by Kocjubyns'kyj or Stefanyk. It is embarrassing to have to repeat the truism that it is the artistry, not the subject matter, that makes a work universal.

8. In this and other respects the chapter on Realism continues the more or less conscious approach of the whole *History*, with its tendency to subjective, even partisan involvement, its tendency to reduction (here to see Realism *sub speciae* of the language question), and the selective focus, which produces, at best, a discussion of some pertinent issues, but not a historical and balanced overview. As a result, even though it is much more causal and idiosyncratic than the whole, the concluding chapter, written twenty years after the book first appeared and more than thirty years after work on it was first begun, still highlights the premises and flaws of Čyževs'kyj's *History*.

V. THE BASIC PROBLEMS

As Čyževs'kyj notes in his introduction to Hruševs'kyj's monumentally conceived but unfinished *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, histories of literature inevitably become dated—precisely because they are scholarly works.[140] Not only is our factual knowledge continually expanded, but the discipline itself, and the humane sciences as a whole, grow and develop. Consequently, reevaluation of the scholarship of the past and reexamination of the state of the discipline is a scholarly imperative.

1. Perhaps the most fundamental premise in Čyževs'kyj's *History* is the belief that literature is a unique phenomenon that exists apart from other spheres of human activity (social, political, etc.) *and* that consequently a history of literature need concern itself only with "immanently literary" criteria, that it, too, can be conceived as a kind of *Ding an sich*. But while the first part of the proposition can be taken as true—certainly as far as the ontology and structure of the literary work is concerned—the second is surely false. For a true history of literature, as we have already argued, must concern itself not only with the text but with the context as well, for it is only with a cultural (and social and political) context that we have a literary process, a *literature*, as opposed to an aggregate of texts. Without attention to the overall context, the given study ceases to be a history

[140] Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 1 (New York, 1959), p. x.

of literature and becomes instead a study of particular aspects of the literature, its formal properties, for example, or the development of the literary language, etc. Such a special, narrow focus is epitomized by Čyževs'kyj's *Formalistische Dichtung bei den Slaven*, and it is one that characterizes in various respects the *History of Ukrainian Literature*. This is not to say, of course, that Čyževs'kyj is totally oblivious of the social and cultural context (though he does ignore the economic or socioeconomic dimension entirely). He does occasionally relate literary phenomena to processes in Ukrainian cultural and social history. His explanation of the notion of an "incomplete literature" is a notable example of this:

> ... The Ukrainian nation, having lost its leading classes at the end of the eighteenth century, became a nation that was "incomplete"; similarly "incomplete" was its literature (see below). The entire meaning and thrust of the Ukrainian national movement during the nineteenth century consisted in "completing" the national organism, in raising it to a true culturally independent stratum. In the field of literature, this difficult task involved the creation of a complete system of literary forms. For a long time the attempt failed, especially since various social and political conditions stood in its way. (368)

These occasional "contextual" elaborations are few and far between, however, and when they do occur they are for the most part vague and generalized—as illustrated by the above reference to "various social and political conditions." As such, Čyževs'kyj's method—contrary to the editor's opinion—does not really show "constant regard for deeper cultural and social influences and undercurrents" (ix). This is demonstrated not only by his avowed intent to focus attention "on those problems that have not as yet been sufficiently studied—questions of form and periodization" (8), and not only, as we have seen, by the various individual analyses of authors or periods in which there is no regard or even reference to any such "deeper cultural and social undercurrents," but most fundamentally by his understanding of *what is literature*. For Čyževs'kyj literature is perceived as something universal, as something that in its essence transcends national and cultural determinants. His history of Ukrainian literature is treated *sub speciae* of the putative universal (more specifically Western or European) structures, values, historical experiences, conventions; it is written from an idealistic and consequently also normative vantage point.

One does not by any means deny that there are many structures in literature that are universal. They are above all the peculiar ontic

status of the literary work, the role of the imagination, the imposition of form, the division into genres, the importance of conventions and norms, etc. But where poetics and literary theory (be it Aristotle's, Lessing's, or Ingarden's) deal with literary works *in general*, and draw on concrete works only to illustrate or establish *general* propositions, literary history, especially the history of a national literature, has for its subject a set of *particular* works, a set of *particular* circumstances and processes—in short, the specifics of literature. For Čyževs'kyj, however, the specifics—in this case of Ukrainian literary history—are decidedly secondary; his scholarship, his attention is directed at what is general or "universal" in Ukrainian literature, either in the narrowest sense, i.e., in reference to formal properties and aspects, or in the broadest, that is, reflecting the overarching historical or ideological constructs (Classicism, Romanticism, etc.). The "middle ground," the uniquely Ukrainian "substance" is largely slighted if not altogether left out of the picture. Put in another way, the framework for Čyževs'kyj's approach to the history of Ukrainian literature comes not from its own process and dynamics, but from a ready-made "universal" scheme. If it can be demonstrated that the scheme, the blueprint, is often inapplicable and the criteria, the tools, inappropriate, then the resulting edifice will undoubtedly be misproportioned and askew.

2. Our first axiom must be that any given literature is indissolubly bound up with its culture, that it is molded by it and is always its reflection and expression. Thus for the historian, the first focus must be on the specifics, the particular and unique structures of that literature.

3. Literature—a national literature—is a system. This follows from the preceding. It is a system which, like the culture of which it is a part, expresses the life, values, experiences, etc., of a group, and like that culture it is *by its very nature complete*. Čyževs'kyj's claim to the contrary, as he repeatedly speaks of the purported incompleteness of modern Ukrainian literature (in the chapters on Classicism, Romanticism and Realism), is the single most serious fallacy in the entire *History*,[141] and its refutation is perhaps the most important prerequisite for an adequate history of Ukrainian literature.

[141] It is also introduced into the *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*. And

The first formulation of this thesis—"incomplete literature of an incomplete nation"—shows that on this one occasion (cf. above) Čyževs'kyj did approach the phenomenon in a larger context. It also shows the possible antecedents of his opinion, for the formula "incomplete nation" seems to echo Herderian distinctions between "historical" and "non-historical" nations or peoples, distinctions which received their crudest expression in the racial hierarchy of a Gobineau. It is generally accepted in the social sciences that there is no such thing as an "incomplete nation." There are ethnographic groups, tribal societies, peasant societies, etc., and there are nations—but the differentiation, and, necessarily, evaluation of nations according to superior and inferior, historical and non-historical, complete and incomplete, is the realm not of scholarship but of, say, political propaganda. One could argue in Čyževs'kyj's defense that he uses the concept of incompleteness not evaluatively but historically, as simply describing a historical process or state of affairs. In fact, the evaluative component is inescapable, as it is with the category historical/non-historical, but while the attendant emotional involvement is real (cf. Čyževs'kyj's comments on the Realist theater) it is indeed probable that intellectually there was no intent to evaluate. The criterion of completeness, however, is also not justifiable historically. For when Čyževs'kyj speaks of "incompleteness" in the Ukrainian body politic it is implicitly taken to be the result of the loss of political independence and autonomy (the second half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century): "The Ukrainian nation, having lost its leading classes at the end of the eighteenth century, became a nation that was 'incomplete'; similarly 'incomplete' was its literature … ." This distorts the historical process. When some classes or groups disappear or are "lost" there occur changes in internal make-up, in institutions, in social stratification, but the nation does not therefore die or become incomplete. By reason of the loss of political independence the Polish nation in the nineteenth century would also have to be called incomplete, and, similarly, every nation that ever "lost" an elite or ruling class through war or revolution (the Czech, the French, the Russian, the Chinese, etc.) would be incomplete. One can and one does speak of various stages in the development of modern nations, but the

it is indeed dismaying to find that it is being given credence by some critics; for example, in the review cited above, William B. Edgerton considers "the distinction between 'complete' and 'incomplete' literatures" a "stimulating insight" (*Slavic and East European Journal* 16, no. 1 [1972]: 85).

category of complete/incomplete, with its evaluative and normative overtones, has no scientific validity.[142]

The basic issue for us, however, is not history but the history of literature, and in this regard the notion of "incomplete literature" is, if anything, even more untoward. It stems, as already noted, from Čyževs'kyj's strong normative sense: he postulates a "required," a "normal," "content," or profile for Ukrainian literature—in terms of its system of genres, above all, in its forms and values—and deems any deviation from this a sign of incompleteness. A notion of incompleteness must logically postulate a sense or model of completeness, and this model, as is obvious from Čyževs'kyj's discussion, is provided by other literatures, principally the West European. The basic question, however, of why a literature expressing one culture, one set of historical experiences and influences, should be a yardstick for another, of why Ukrainian literature in whatever aspect, in its genres or its emphases, *should be* like any other literature, is never faced. By this procedure any number of literatures—Persian, Turkish, Chinese—might be called incomplete because at some period in their history they do not exhibit the same system of genres that the West European literatures do. Theoretically, one could reverse the process and claim that a Western literature, say, French, is "incomplete" because it does not have a feature, a genre of a non-Western literature, for example the Ukrainian *duma*. In practice this is never done for the simple reason of West European ethnocentrism (which Čyževs'kyj very much shares) and the hierarchy, the sense of status that it projects. By reason of similar immanent "status" one would also hardly think to call Chinese literature incomplete, no matter how many West European genres it was missing. In essence the principle implicit here—that every literature is a complete system, to be judged on its own terms and in its proper cultural context—is correct, it must only be made general and not contingent on unscholarly notions of "status." It is revealing to observe in this connection that this problem has been broached in recent Russian literary scholarship, namely, in D. S. Lixačev's interesting investigations on the poetics of the literature of Old Rus'.[143] Among the central points in this syncretic study are those which clearly parallel the principles discussed here:

[142] For a somewhat different approach see Omeljan Pritsak and John S. Reshetar, "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," in *The Development of the U.S.S.R.*, ed. Donald W. Treadgold (Seattle and London), pp. 236-67.
[143] D. S. Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Leningrad, 1971).

the conviction that literature expresses and mirrors a culture not only by its manifest content but by its organization as well, the fact that literature constitutes a "system of genres" and that this system's capacity for accommodating new elements is narrowly confined (cf. the above-discussed idea of cultural readiness), and, as a synthesis of these points, an implicit rejection of any notion of "incompleteness."[144] It is an argument, of course, that is to be applied not only to Old Rus'ian and Old Russian literature but as a general principle of literary history. The notion of an "incomplete literature" should be repudiated not because it offends national pride, but because it is false.

4. Before finally laying it to rest, however, we might look at two attendant methodological issues. The first concerns the line of reasoning that culminates with the notion of completeness/incompleteness, but which underlies some other premises of Čyževs'kyj's, notable among them his general scheme of periodization. At its core it is a reasoning that is quite analogous to evolutionist thinking. In anthropology and associated fields, evolutionism is the term applied to those nineteenth-century theorists (Morgan, Taylor, Bachofen) who shared the basic premise that all human cultures follow the same path and pass through the same stages in their cultural evolution. In the process of attempting to reconstruct the past on the basis of the present they concluded that various contemporary primitive cultures were in essence "delayed" or archaic stages of our own developed one. The empirical thinking of later schools (beginning with Malinowski) rejected this "cabinet approach," as they called it, which arbitrarily focused on particular data (e.g., the evolution of particular tools or implements) and while fitting it into a theory, neglected to see the culture as a functioning whole. Čyževs'kyj reminds us of this naive nineteenth-century thinking as he assumes that all literatures must develop a particular "content" and form, as he focuses on one issue, i.e., the system of genres, without reference to the particular nature of the whole context, and as he determines completeness/incompleteness on this basis, and indeed postulates "decline into" and "evolution from" such incompleteness. With these premises and in the absence of empirical criteria the way is open to various forms of subjectivism.

[144] Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury*, p. 68.

The second issue pertains to Čyževs'kyj's pronounced tendency to reification, or, at the very least, the tendency to see the phenomenon in question statically. A literature, a culture, a nation are all dynamic entities; Čyževs'kyj sees them in stasis, almost as physical *things*. One can speak of static, or conventionally defined, or physical objects as being incomplete—an incomplete set of Shakespeare's works, an incomplete museum—but an incomplete literature? an incomplete culture? A pie from which a wedge is taken is indeed an incomplete pie, but is a nation a pie that becomes incomplete when it loses most or even all of a certain group?

5. The conceptual cornerstone of Čyževs'kyj's *History* is the designation of style as the basis and criterion of the literary process. This is consonant with his avowed emphasis on formal matters and the unavowed but pervasive downgrading of the cultural context. It is an approach not without precedent—above all in the history of art—and it is also not without its problems. The first, of course, is the very definition of the term "style." As we see from dictionaries of literary terms and encyclopedias of poetics, "style" is used in multifarious, often mutually exclusive ways; it can be regarded as constituting the "essential form" of the work of art or as a generic term, "a product of many elements," to be "broken down into species and subspecies until it terminates in the individual."[145] To cite one informative entry, style can be examined under various categories or "elements that enter into communication, hence affect style."

A style may take its epithet (species) from (1) its author, Homeric style; (2) its time, medieval style; (3) its language or medium, Germanic style or lyric style; (4) its subject, philosophical style; (5) its geographical place, Billingsgate style; (6) its audience, popular style; (7) its purpose, humorous style.[146]

Most common perhaps is the understanding of style as the expression of an artist's individuality; in Buffon's famous formula: "Le style est l'homme même." The typologies of style that have resulted from this belief range from the objective, statistical, to the impressionistically psychological (differentiating, for example, such styles as "weak, delicate, balanced, positive, strong, hybrid, subtle and defective").[147] But despite the differences occasioned by variegated and ambiguous

[145] E[dward] A[.] T[enney], "Style," in *Dictionary of World Literature*, ed. Joseph T. Shipley (Totowa, N.J., 1964), p. 397.
[146] T[enney], "Style," p. 398.
[147] Cf. Stephen Ullmann, *Meaning and Style* (New York, 1973), p. 71.

usage, "style" can still function as a rewarding analytical tool—provided it is applied in a conscious and precise way.[148]

In Čyževs'kyj's *History*, however, no attempt is made to define "style." It is introduced, abruptly and somewhat tautologously, as the basis of periodization ("Analiza stylju pryvela do vysnovku, ščo same zminy literaturnyx styliv dajut' najkrašči ta sutoliteraturni kryteriji dlja periodyzaciji literatury"; 19),[149] and it is apparently assumed that its denotation is self-evident. But while a definition is not provided at the outset, it soon becomes quite clear that here style is synonymous with literary period. One explicit articulation of this is given in the brochure *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, in which Čyževs'kyj first states his periodization scheme (and shows that he models himself on the history of art):

> The first historians, it seems, who consciously attempted to divide the entire development of the cultural sphere they were investigating into epochs, which they characterized according to content, were the historians of art .... The history of art becomes to a large extent a history of "styles," that is, the history of the changes in systems of artistic ideals, artistic tastes, and characteristic features of artistic creativity that characterize each period.

And:

> Along with the study of more and more spheres through the method of "cultural-stylistic" investigation, a most important tendency is the attempt to see in every period, with all its various and variegated spheres (politics, art, literature, philosophy, piety, etc.), a totality whose every side equally represents the same cultural style.[150]

These theses are subsequently incorporated into the *History of Ukrainian Literature*.

Yet to the degree that style is expanded to mean a whole epoch or period, its analytical usefulness is proportionately impaired. First, because the construction becomes tautologous (as in the above-cited sentence that says that the analysis of style establishes style as the most truly literary criterion for periodization; all it does, in fact, is show that style is a fit subject matter for stylistic analysis). The basis or "matter" for periodization, we are told, is style, and style

[148] A fine example of this is Peter Gay's study of *Style in History* (New York, 1974); the introductory section, "Style—From Manner to Matter," succinctly describes the pitfalls and potentialities of the term.
[149] "Stylistic analysis revealed that changes in style were the best and most intrinsic criteria for the periodization of literature" (13-14).
[150] *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, pp. 6-7.

is the totality of a period, so the idea, the *Gestalt* of the period and not the actual phenomena in it, becomes the basis for periodization. Secondly, the discussion of style as the total set of a period tends to absolutize it, to discount or downgrade differentiation within it. (In this regard the concept of a "model" for a period is much more functional precisely because it avoids the dangers of monism.)[151] To be sure, in *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, a theoretical, hypothesizing and more carefully formulated work, Čyževs'kyj repeatedly warns against this flaw and the tendency to make the schema more real than the concrete material it stands for. In practice, however, in the *History*, this warning is not followed. When in the theory of *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy* he warns against the seductiveness of such harmonious, monolithic periods/styles—

> ... the harmonious, monolithic character which the historical process and the separate historical epochs assume under such a perspective is not of itself a positive argument for the correctness of the conception that is the basis of such an approach—

in the praxis of the *History* he is quite seduced by them. Consequently, two discrete periods, the monumental and the ornamental, are posited when the evidence tends to suggest a broader and more heterogeneous period encompassing both; obversely, the differentiation within the Baroque is ignored (even after Čyževs'kyj himself points to its existence). Similarly with the later periods of Classicism, Romanticism, and Realism: the desire to find "harmonious, monolithic" epochs overshadows the intractable reality.

Ultimately, beyond the question of a balanced understanding of style is the more fundamental question of whether this "intrinsically literary" criterion is sufficient basis or "matter" for literary history. As we have argued earlier, it is not. Unless the context and the dynamics of the process are considered, the focus on style, even when it is conceived broadly, with many subdivisions, will highlight one, albeit important, aspect, and not the whole of literary history.

6. Periodization, as Čyževs'kyj repeats more than once, is the focal point of his enterprise. His scheme for periodicizing Ukrainian literary history embodies his central theoretical ideas on style as the substance of literary history, on the nature of literary development, on the

[151] Cf. Jadwiga Sokołowska's *Spory o barok: W poszukiwaniu modelu epoki* (Warsaw, 1971), especially pp. 13-77.

nature of literature itself. It is inevitable, therefore, that any flaws or problems in the building blocks would be more than evident in the overall structure. And they are.

Čyževs'kyj's periodization of Ukrainian literature, as we have seen in some detail, and as his critics have variously remarked, is highly schematic. He implicitly accepts the model of West European literary history—early and late Medieval periods, the Renaissance and Humanism, the Baroque, Classicism, Romanticism and Realism—and unto this Procrustean bed he stretches and squeezes the material of Ukrainian literature. The resulting incongruities are then for the most part seen as "deficiencies" or "weaknesses"—*of the material, not the schema*. This procedure is the very opposite of that followed by the art historians Čyževs'kyj approvingly alludes to in the *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*. For a Wölfflin the procedure was to use the category of Renaissance or Baroque as a generalization that would accommodate and describe the mass of available evidence.[152] To make the generalization and the schema primary and the material secondary is to do violence to reality. The product cannot help but be unnatural if the operation—as illustrated by the introduction into the scheme of Ukrainian literary history of such empty slots as "Biedermeier" and the "Natural School"[153]—is quintessentially mechanical.

While the periodization scheme does not do justice to Ukrainian literature, one could perhaps find justification for it on the grounds that it does set forth hypothetical (purportedly universal) principles against which the history of Ukrainian literature may be viewed. Thus while the total picture may in the end be distorted, the hypothetical nature of the conception may conceivably offer new insights that would partially offset the accompanying inadequacies. This much may be conceded. The method itself, however, the theoretical principle on which the schema rests, has very little to recommend it.

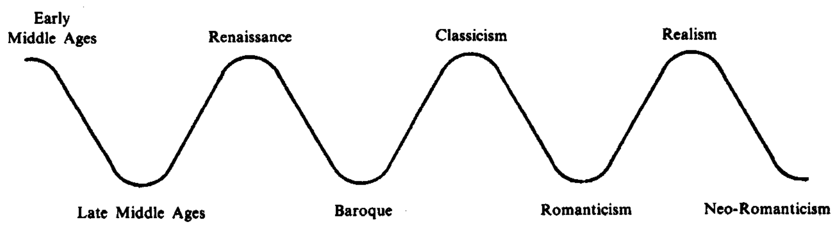
Basically, Čyževs'kyj posits a perpetual oscillation of styles: "It is also possible, it seems, to establish a pattern in the change of literary styles. This pattern is based on the repeated alternation of *opposite* tendencies: styles, and to a certain extent ideologies as well, oscillate between two opposite poles" (14). This oscillation hinges on one binary set of features:

[152] Cf. his *Principles of Art History* (New York, 1932).

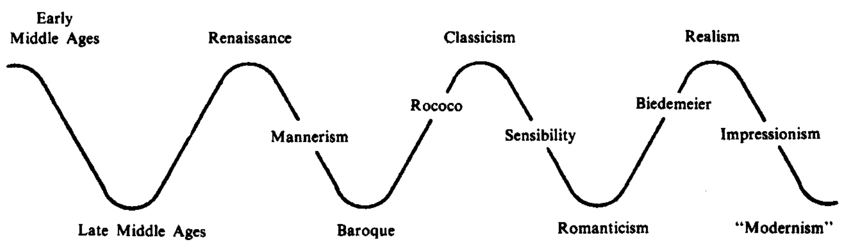
[153] The fact that the categories of "Biedermeier" and the "Natural School" are subsequently recognized as inapplicable to Ukrainian literature is not as important as the fact that they are admitted *a priori* as legitimate categories.

In spite of the great variety of literary styles in European literature, it is not difficult to isolate the two basic types with opposite characteristics: love of simplicity, on the one hand, and a preference for complexity on the other; a preference for clarity based on definite rules of an established framework, on the one hand, and a predisposition to incomplete, fragmented, "free" form on the other. (14)[154]

In *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy* and in the recent *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, Čyževs'kyj represents this see-saw schema of oscillating styles (and periods and modes of perception) with a graph:



In the latter publication Čyževs'kyj gives a finer "tuning" to the graph:[155]



(In *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy* he accommodates Ukrainian literature by extending the see-saw to include "neo-Classicism.")[156] Now, whether this movement is depicted as an S-curve or a zig-zag (in

[154] This seems to echo Wölfflin (cf. the Conclusion to his *Principles of Art History*) but there the reasoning is always subtle and far from any schematism. A direct precursor for this theory of oscillation may have been Louis Cazamian, cf. his "La Notion de retours périodiques dans l'histoire littéraire" and "Les Périodes dans l'histoire de la littérature anglaise moderne," in *Essais en deux langues* (Paris, 1938); cf. also René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York, 1956), pp. 267 and 354. For Čyževs'kyj's possible indebtedness to other, German, theorists, see the necrology in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1977): 379-406.
[155] *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, pp. 16 and 18.
[156] *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, p. 13.

Lixačev's rendition of it),[157] the graph has no analytical value—it is basically a doodle. Worse still, it is misleading. The problem here is not the absence of chronological demarcations between periods (in fact the impossibility of providing such), and not the lack of consideration for simultaneous, "overlapping" tendencies, and generally the question of discontinuity, and the problem of "in-between" periods—these are all issues that Čyževs'kyj claims to be aware of,[158] and as far as the latter problem is concerned he does expand the scheme to accommodate them. Nor is the problem the implicit equation of the two sets of peaks, or technically speaking, the non-differentiation of the amplitude of the curve, that is to say, the lack of provision for measuring the intensity or intrinsic (historical, artistic, statistical, etc.) *value* or importance of the period.[159] The problem with the graph is not the amplitude of the curve, or its length, but the curve itself, i.e., the fact that the literary process and literature as such *is reduced to one function*, here the eternal oscillation of the simple and the complex, the Classical and the Baroque. In actuality there is a myriad of such "functions," of literary-historical issues and problems, in the realm of style and content, that ought to be considered—and when they are it is doubtful whether the resulting picture can be conveyed by a graph.

7. Čyževs'kyj's recourse to the Weberian idea of "ideal types" does not quite save his methodology. The device of a model that would elucidate a cultural phenomenon is certainly valid, but whereas for Max Weber it is a tool intended to facilitate understanding of irrational behavior and deviation from the rational norm, for Čyževs'kyj the ideal type attains reality—or is to be found in it—and it becomes the norm. This is evident from his own words:

> In literary scholarship, as in the other arts and social sciences, one must strive to form not concepts but "ideal types" (Max Weber). Concepts of this sort (if one can use "concept" in a broader sense) include not characteristics common to an entire group of objects but typical characteristics, which may be absent from many objects or present only in a small subgroups that includes the most significant objects. To create an ideal type of Gothic church, the

[157] *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury*, p. 73.
[158] Cf. *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, pp. 13-16.
[159] Lixačev, for example, has difficulties with this, too, but his concern—mistaken, it seems—is that the scheme has no provision for demonstrating progress in literature; *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury*, p. 74.

characteristics of the Strassburg Cathedral are more important that those of a hundred small village churches. One should proceed in just this way in dealing with works of literature.[160]

There seems to be a confusion here of literary theory with literary history, for the latter deals, as we have noted, with the concrete, the specific. If the sampling consists of "a hundred small village churches," one will not understand it better by measuring it according to the "characteristics of the Strassburg Cathedral." An ideal history, which is what Čyževs'kyj tends to slip into, is neither fish nor fowl, neither ideal nor history.

8. An alternative periodization scheme seems to be indicated. Its full elaboration can come only with a new history of Ukrainian literature, and for the present one can merely outline some necessary revisions. Thus the earliest period of Ukrainian literature, the eleventh to thirteenth century, which Čyževs'kyj divides into the monumental and ornamental styles, should be viewed as essentially one. The period of decline in the fourteenth to fifteenth century can indeed be called transitional, but as Hruševs'kyj's *History* shows, there is much here that is worthy of further attention. The cultural and literary renascence of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century should be distinguished as a separate period, but not identified with or perceived through the prism of the Renaissance and Reformation. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, subsumed by Čyževs'kyj into one large Baroque period, should perhaps be seen as dividing into two periods more or less at the time of Prokopovyč. The period that Čyževs'kyj identifies as Classicism, the end of the eighteenth and the first three decades of the nineteenth century, should certainly not be defined solely by Classicism but rather viewed as a transitional period in which traditional, popular forms (burlesque, etc.), Classicist and Sentimental conventions, and the new pre-Romanticism were unevenly commingled. Romanticism constitutes a distinct period, but as with all the others it must first and foremost be seen in its Ukrainian specificity. "Realism" on the other hand is a very complex phenomenon. While the attempt to deal with its various manifestations decade by decade (Jefremov and current Soviet historians) is not persuasive,[161] a differentiation of the period is essential. As a general

160 *Comparative History of Slavic Literatures*, p. 17.
161 Cf. Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo*, p. 27.

principle, the "geographical" approach, where various cultural centers —e.g., Poltava and Xarkiv in the first decades of the nineteenth century, St. Petersburg in the 1860s, L'viv at the end of the century—play a crucial and determining role, seems to be worthy of further investigation.[162] The various literary movements or currents at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century —Modernism (neo-Romanticism), Symbolism, Impressionism, and subsequently Futurism and "neo-Classicism"—are all interesting in themselves and in varying degrees produced works of high artistic merit, but are by no means to be seen as periods, as Čyževs'kyj seems to imply.[163] Rather it is the interplay, the very fact of dynamic, often hostile coexistence, e.g., of Futurism with "neo-Classicism," that contributes to the polyphony of a historical period, in this case the 1920s.

In short, the historical category, "literary period," is not comprised of any one movement or style. At the very least it must be recognized that it is an age that creates a style, not the style an age: it is the Napoleonic period, for example, that creates the Empire style, not vice versa. Čyževs'kyj at times claims otherwise, particularly when speaking about *periods* of "monumental" and "ornamental" style. One might submit that when the content (cultural, social, and political) of an age has not been demonstrated one can hardly speak of its style, and when one does so—and the very terms "ornamental," "monumental" suggest this—it is on the basis of subjective and selective generalizations (something that Čyževs'kyj himself virtually admits). To identify style and period, to conceive the development of Ukrainian literature *solely* qua Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, etc., is, at the very best, to give a history of styles in Ukrainian literature, not a history of the literature.

9. Finally, we turn to a most crucial problem, which, while not unique to Ukrainian literature, is one without which a proper understanding of the history of Ukrainian literature is impossible. It is simply the question of the language of a national literature, and, specifically, the thesis that language is the ultimate, indeed only, determinant of a national literature. The assumption, inherited from the Romantics,

[162] Cf. M. I. Petrov, *Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury* (Kiev, 1884); Hruševs'kyj, *Z novoho ukrajins'koho pys'menstva*, and Zerov, *Nove ukrajins'ke pys'menstvo*, pp. 22-24.
[163] *Kul'turno-istoryčni epoxy*, pp. 13-16 passim.

that it is, has become commonplace and for some apparently an article of faith. (One can see its extension in the problematic thesis that the affinity of Slavic languages is of itself sufficient basis to claim affinity of Slavic literatures.) The arguments against this identification are various.

One is the historical continuity of a literature. A literary tradition continues, a literature of a people remains one even if the language in which the literature is written changes, sometimes drastically. The Old English Beowulf written in Anglo-Saxon is part of the history of English literature; the early Polish or Hungarian literature written in Latin is part of the history of these literatures; the Osman works written in Persian belong to Turkish literature; the *Igor' Tale*, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings in bookish Ukrainian are as much part of the history of Ukrainian literature as are nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ukrainian writings. Čyževs'kyj was perfectly correct in rejecting that nineteenth-century thinking which confined Ukrainian literature only to that written in the modern vernacular. In other quarters the same argument was raised as a function of political hostility. The result was one: abbreviating the literature also abbreviated Ukrainian history.

To take an empirical approach, on the other hand, it is obvious that there can be different literatures and different literary traditions even when the language is the same. Such is the case with English and American literature, or with the literatures of other English-speaking countries, or with German and Austrian, French and Walloon, Castillian and Latin American literatures, etc.

Finally, there are historical and contemporary analogies: the existence of Irish literature in English, of Turkish literature written, depending on the requirements of the genre, in Persian or Arabic, of Japanese literature written in Chinese. The different linguistic basis does not change the fact that the texts and the authors are respectively Irish, Turkish or Japanese. The axiom that these examples illustrate is that not only language but culture, the set and continuity of a people's experiences, values, traditions, etc., also determines a literature and gives it *identity*, i.e., both selfsameness and individuality. Indeed language is so important precisely because it is so often—if not always—the major carrier of that identity.

This, of course, bears strongly on Ukrainian literature, whose linguistic basis over the course of its history has been peculiarly complex. One complicating element was the drastic change in literary language

as the vernacular replaced the bookish language of Middle Ukrainian; it was a change that also effected a considerable, though far from total, break in literary tradition, and it came without the mediation (as was the case in Russian) of a gradation of styles. Rather more complicating was the fact that at various extended periods in its history Ukrainian literature was bilingual and even multilingual. For many writers of the seventeenth (and to a lesser extent of the eighteenth) century a major mode of expression was Polish—as exemplified by the excellent poetry of Ivan Velyčkovs'kyj—and also Latin and Greek. Similarly, in the eighteenth and the first half (and more) of the nineteenth century it was Russian. These works, the *Istorija Rusov*, the prose of Kvitka and Hrebinka, the *Žurnal* of Ševčenko and many, many more are an essential part of the Ukrainian literary process, of Ukrainian literature. Like Polish in the seventeenth century, Russian at this time was a natural mode, an imperial *lingua franca*; given the political state of affairs this was normal and inevitable. As in the seventeenth-century multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian Empire, use of the *lingua franca* implied no rejection, no hedging on one's Ukrainian identity. As noted above, Maksymovyč, typical of his contemporaries, was quite clear on the difference between *russkij* and *velikorusskij*; to judge the literary identity of his contemporaries by today's criteria of national consciousness is simply anachronistic. It is only with politically crystallized national consciousness and with the upsurge of political power that the Ukrainian language becomes the sole linguistic base for Ukrainian literature. The contemporary political regression tends to bear out this formula—for now one can be a Ukrainian writer, a Ukrainian member of the Union of Writers of the Ukrainian SSR, writing for a Ukrainian public, and write in Russian.[164]

10. In Eastern Europe, and particularly in the lands of the old Russian Empire, literature and politics are bedfellows, and the revisions in literary-historical thinking suggested here are not likely to meet with the approval of the official guardians of literature. (The border between Russian and Ukrainian literature is sharply drawn, though here and there are shadowy places: Feofan Prokopovyč, for example, is in Russian editions simply a Russian writer while in Ukrainian

[164] Cf. *Pys'mennyky radjans'koji Ukrajiny: Dovidnyk* (Kiev, 1976).

editions he is both a Ukrainian and a Russian one; the same holds true for the whole period of Kievan literature; Gogol' is a jealously guarded outpost; Skovoroda, on the other hand, has been ceded to the Ukrainians.) In the West there is only the inertia of traditions, preconceptions, and simplifications to contend with. In this regard Ukrainian literary scholarship has a considerable task before it—not recapturing literary territory, not cultural revanchism, but bringing objective scholarly tools to bear on a complex and long neglected, and, not least of all, very interesting field.

11. From this perspective and for this purpose Čyževs'kyj's *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* is not a satisfactory starting point. Its conceptions are dated and in varying degree inherently flawed. The scaffolding that Shevelov saw in it was not and cannot be followed up to a whole edifice. The present English translation only gives it a new finish—and a slapdash one at that.

UKRAINIAN REGIONAL AGRARIAN HISTORY: A REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS OF T. D. LIPOVSKAIA ON THE CRISIS OF THE SERF ECONOMY IN THE LEFT-BANK UKRAINE

ZACK DEAL

The study of the local history of the peasantry, long one of the characteristic features of French agrarian historiography, is not well developed among historians of the Ukraine. Although the Soviet multivolume history of Ukrainian villages[1] and the general history of the peasantry of the Ukrainian SSR[2] provide useful information, they cannot substitute for historical investigations of the peasantry in specific localities. There is a particular scarcity of local studies eludicating the peculiarities of rural Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the absence of such local studies, authors of more general works have undertaken some valuable research using local archives, but even their most noteworthy efforts have all too often been flawed by generalizations based upon information from only a few localities.[3] A close inspection of a series of recently published articles focusing upon one region, the Left-Bank Ukraine, will demonstrate some of the findings and a few of the weaknesses in contemporary local history of the peasantry of the Ukraine.

Since the 1950s Soviet agrarian historians have demonstrated that the peasantry of Eastern Europe had a complex history, the basic

[1] *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainy v dvadtsiaty shesty tomakh* (Kiev, 1967-74).

[2] *Istoriia selianstva Ukrains'koi RSR u dvokh tomakh* (Kiev, 1967).

[3] The most useful work, despite its generalizations, is the early one by I. O. Hurzhii, *Rozklad feodal'no-kriposnyts'koi systemy v sil's'komu hospodarstvi Ukrainy pershoi polovyny XIX st.* (Kiev, 1954).

outlines of which can be discovered and recorded. Many of the papers presented at the first ten Symposia on Agrarian History, as well as others encouraged by the Commission on the History of Agriculture and the Peasantry of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, are now available in serial publications.[4] Soviet agrarian historians continue to publish document compilations,[5] collaborative works,[6] and occasional collections of articles;[7] these present, organize and elaborate upon new information about the history of the peasantry. Soviet scholars have devoted special attention to the peasantry on individual gentry estates,[8] in a single province,[9] and within a given region.[10] Local studies of the peasantry are among the positive developments accompanying the renewed interest in agrarian history.

Historians of the Ukraine have taken an active part in these developments in agrarian historiography, but they have not yet thoroughly investigated the local and regional history of the Ukrainian peasantry. Ukrainian scholars have published many works in the serial publications on agrarian history,[11] as well as in collaborative

[4] *Ezhegodniki po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy*, 10 vols. (Location and publisher varies, 1959-72), and *Materialy po istorii zemlevladeniia*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1952-54), retitled *Materialy po istorii sel'skogo khoziaistva i krest'ianstva*, vols. 3-8 (Moscow, 1959-74).

[5] See the series of tomes under the general editorship of N. M. Druzhinin, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Rossii v XIX—nachale XX veka* (Moscow, 1959-).

[6] *Istoriia SSSR*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1959).

[7] Among the most important of these are *Iz istorii rabochego klassa i revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia* (Moscow, 1958); *Voprosy istorii sel'skogo khoziaistva, krest'ianstva i revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961); *Problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Rossii: Sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1971); *Problemy krest'ianskogo zemlevladeniia i vnutrennei politiki Rossii: Dooktiabr'skii period* (Leningrad, 1972); and *Iz istorii ekonomicheskoi i obshchestvennoi zhizni Rossii* (Moscow, 1976).

[8] Two studies treating the first half of the nineteenth century are K. V. Sivkov, *Ocherki po istorii krepostnogo khoziaistva i krest'ianskogo dvizheniia v Rossii v pervoi polovine XIX veka: Po materialam arkhiva stepnykh votchin Iusupovykh* (Moscow, 1951); and E. I. Indova, *Krepostnoe khoziaistvo v nachale XIX veka: Po materialam votchinnogo arkhiva Vorontsovykh* (Moscow, 1955).

[9] Among the earliest were G. M. Deich, *Krest'ianstvo Pskovskoi gubernii v kontse XVIII i pervoi polovine XIX veka* (Pskov, 1957); G. T. Riabkov, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Smolenskoi gubernii v period razlozheniia krepostnichestva* (Smolensk, 1957); and A. Dergachev, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Penzenskoi gubernii nakanune 1861 goda* (Penza, 1958).

[10] I. D. Koval'chenko, *Krest'iane i krepostnoe khoziaistvo Riazanskoi i Tambovskoi gubernii v pervoi polovine XIX v.* (Moscow, 1959).

[11] Many short papers on the Ukrainian countryside were read at the third Symposium on Agrarian History. See *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1960 g.* (Kiev, 1962).

works[12] and in university and historical journals.[13] In the late 1950s and early 1960s, some of these historians were even in the vanguard of the historical research on rural economy during the nineteenth century. For example, I. O. Hurzhii documented the decline of the "feudal economy" and the development of commodity production and trade in the first half of the century.[14] M. N. Leshchenko thoroughly analyzed the relationship between the causes of the peasant revolts during the emancipation of 1861 and the specific government actions implementing that reform.[15] L. M. Ivanov, V. P. Teplyts'kyi and M. A. Rubach analyzed the interrelation between the peasant and gentry economies in the Ukraine after 1861.[16] All of these major works were general studies, however. Relying in part upon nineteenth-century local studies, these major historians examined agrarian changes that embraced the entire Ukraine.

Despite the publication of numerous local studies on the peasantry in other areas of the Soviet Union, few specialized monographs have been devoted to the history of the peasantry of specific regions of

[12] See, especially, *Ocherki istorii narodnogo khoziaistva Ukrainskoi SSR* (Kiev, 1954); *Istoriia Ukrainskoi RSR*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1955); and *Istoriia selianstva Ukrainskoi RSR*.

[13] Some local and regional studies did appear in the scholarly journals prior to the 1950s, but since then the major works have dealt with the Ukraine as a whole. See, for example, M. Tikhonov, "Selians'kyi rukh na Slobids'kii Ukraini v zv'iazku z reformoiu 1861 r.," *Naukovyi zbirnyk Kharkivs'koi naukovo-doslidnoi kafedry istorii Ukrains'koi kul'tury*, vol. 5 (1927); A. M. Kolesnikov, "Reforma 1861 g. na iuge Ukrainy," *Trudy Istoricheskogo fakul'teta Odesskogo universiteta*, vol. 1 (1939); P. A. Lavrov, "Ukrains'ke selianstvo i pol's'ke povstannia 1830-1831 rr. na Pravoberezhnii Ukraini," *Zapysky istorychnoho fakul'tety L'vivs'koho derzhavnoho universytetu im. Ivana Franka*, vol. 1 (1940); A. K. Koshik, "Inventarnaia reforma 1847-1848 gg. i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie na Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine," *Istoricheskii sbornik Kievskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, vol. 1 (1949); V. P. Teplyts'kii, "Rozklad i kriza kriposnoho hospodarstva na Ukraini," *Naukovi zapysky Institutu ekonomiki Akademii nauk URSR*, vol. 2 (1954); D. P. Poida, "Iz istorii krest'ianskogo dvizheniia na Ukraine v 1861-1863 godakh," *Nauchnye zapiski Dnepropetrovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, vol. 56 (1956); A. G. Kolomoitsev, "Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Priazov'e v 40—50-x gg. XIX veka," *Uchenye zapiski Turkmenskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, vol. 8 (1956).

[14] Hurzhii, *Rozklad feodal'no-kriposnyts'koi systemy*.

[15] N. N. Leshchenko, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie na Ukraine v sviazi s provedeniem reformy 1861 g.* (Kiev, 1959).

[16] V. P. Teplyts'kyi, *Reforma 1861 roku i ahrarni vidnosyny na Ukraini (60—90-ti roky XIX st.)* (Kiev, 1959); L. M. Ivanov, "Raspredelenie zemlevladeniia na Ukraine [1877-1905] nakanune revoliutsii 1905-1907 gg.," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 60 (1957): 176-214; Idem, "O kapitalisticheskoi i otrabotochnoi sistemakh v sel'skom khoziaistve pomeshchikov na Ukraine v kontse XIX v.," *Voprosy istorii sel'sko-khoziaistva, krest'ianstva i revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961); M. A. Rubach, *Ocherki po istorii revoliutsionnogo preobrazovaniia agrarnykh otnoshenii na Ukraine* (Kiev, 1956).

the Ukraine.[17] Only a few Soviet historians have published articles on the agrarian and economic history of Galicia, Bukovyna, and the Right-Bank and Southern Ukraine.[18] The geographic region which Soviet agrarian historians have, to date, studied least is the Left-Bank Ukraine.

Nineteenth-century Russian documents often referred to the Left Bank as "Little Russia." In 1858 this region comprised the provincial governments of Chernihiv, Poltava and Kharkiv, and contained a total population of 4,873,547 persons, of whom about 35 percent were serfs.[19] The vast majority of current Soviet historical studies of the peasantry of the Left-Bank Ukraine concern peasant uprisings.[20]

[17] Published monographs dealing with the first half of the nineteenth century include M. M. Maksimenko, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Tavricheskoi gubernii nakanune i posle otmeny krepostnogo prava (1845-1863 gg.)* (Simferopol', 1957), and M. P. Herasymenko, *Ahrarni vidnosyny v Halychyni v period kryzy panshchynnoho hospodarstva* (Kiev, 1959). Several interesting dissertations have been published only as *referaty*. The most important of these is M. I. Belan, "Krest'ianskaia reforma 1861 g. i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Chernigovskoi gubernii" (Candidate diss., Kiev State University, 1952).

[18] On Galicia and Bukovyna, see E. M. Kosachevskaia, "Antifeodal'naia bor'ba ukrainskogo krest'ianstva Vostochnoi Galitsii v pervoi polovine XIX v.," *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo universiteta*, no. 270, *Seriia istoricheskikh nauk*, fasc. 32 (1960); F. I. Steblii, "Selians'kyi rukh u skhidnii Halychyni pidchas revoliutsii 1848-1849 rr.," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1973, no. 6, pp. 28-38; I. A. Hrytsenko, "Rol' Sadgirs'koho iarmarku v rozvytku ekonomichnykh zv'iazkiv pivnichnoi Bukovyny z naddniprians'koiu Ukrainoiu v XIX st.," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1975, no. 7, pp. 97-103. Two regional studies for the Right Bank are A. Z. Baraboi, "Naemnyi trud v pomeshchich'ikh imeniiakh Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy v pervoi polovine XIX v.," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1961 g.* (Riga, 1963); Iu. A. Kurnosova, "Kryza kriposnoho hospodarstva na Pravoberezhnii Ukraini," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1959, no. 3, pp. 46-61. Two local studies for the southern region are S. A. Sekirinskii, "Vidy povinnostei krepostnykh krest'ian Tavricheskoi gubernii nakanune reformy 1861 goda," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1962 g.* (Minsk, 1964); P. S. Popova, "K voprosu o polozhenii i bor'be pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian khersonskoi gubernii nakanune padeniia krepostnogo prava (1841-1860 gg.)," in *Nekotorye problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiia USSR: Tematicheskii sbornik statei professorsko-prepodavatel'skogo sostava kafedry istorii SSSR i USSR Dnepropetrovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, vol. 1 (1970).

[19] A. Troinitskii, *Krepostnoe naselenie v Rossii po 10-i narodnoi perepisi* (St. Petersburg, 1861), p. 49.

[20] Among the many works on this topic are K. G. Migal', "Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Khar'kovskoi gubernii mezhdu dvumia burzhuazno-demokraticheskimi revoliutsiami 1905-1917" (Candidate's diss., Chernivitsi State University, 1949); A. G. Mikhailiuk, "Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v 1905-1906 gg.," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, vol. 49 (1954); V. Astakhov and Iu. Kondufor, *Revoliutsionnye sobytiia 1905-1907 gg. v Khar'kove i Khar'kovskoi gubernii* (Kharkiv, 1955); E. K. Zhivolup, *Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Khar'kovskoi gubernii v 1905-1907 gg.* (Kharkiv, 1956); L. Oliinyk and O. Hora, *Selians'kyi rukh na Chernihivshchyni v 1905-1907 rokakh* (Kiev, 1959);

Only a few Soviet historians have examined other aspects of peasant life.[21] Consequently, peasant insurrections have been minutely analyzed, while the causes of these insurrections and protests either have been overlooked entirely or have been explained a priori in terms of Marxist theory.

The post-emancipation problems of the peasantry of this region cannot be understood properly without insight into the serf's economic situation before and after the emancipation of 1861. The general historians who have discussed the problems of the peasantry of the Left-Bank Ukraine have been hampered by the scarcity of local histories that explain which aspects of the old economic order were dismantled by the reform of 1861 and which survived.[22] Two of these local investigations of the reform itself are cursory and inadequate because, although they examine the results of the reform, they do not compare the results with the situation prior to 1861. Moreover, no previous Soviet historian has examined the specific, Left-Bank economy which existed under serfdom, although such an investigation has long been required. Only recently has a Soviet historian, T. D. Lipovskaia, begun the difficult but essential task of rediscovering the past of the serfs of the Left-Bank Ukraine.

Lipovskaia has examined the specific agrarian problems in the Left Bank which, in some respects, determined the regional variant of the reform of 1861. A member of the history faculty at Dnipropetrovs'k State University, she recently completed her candidate's dissertation concerning "Anti-serfdom movements in the Left-Bank Ukraine on the eve of the downfall of serfdom."[23] She has also

I. M. Reva, *Selians'kyi rukh na Livoberezhnii Ukraini, 1905-1907* (Kiev, 1964); A. G. Mikhailiuk, "Krest'ianskoe dvizhenie na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v period novogo revoliutsionnogo pod"ema (1910-1914)," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1964 g.* (Kishinev, 1966), pp. 742-50; P. F. Reshod'ko, *Selians'kyi rukh u Kharkivs'kii hubernii (berezen' 1917—sichen' 1918)* (Kharkiv, 1972).

[21] See, for example, the work of A. G. Sliusars'kii, *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie Slobozhanshchiny XVII—XVIII vv.* (Kharkiv, 1964); and K. K. Shian, *Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma v Khar'kovskoi gubernii* (Kharkiv, 1946).

[22] There is only one study for each of the three provinces. M. I. Belan's "Krest'ianskaia reforma 1861 g. i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie v Chernigovskoi gubernii" has appeared only as a *referat*, despite the fact that it was approved in 1952. The other two studies have been published, but only as short and almost cursory articles. See L. S. Likhina, "K voprosu o provedenii reformy 1861 g. v Poltavskoi gubernii," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1960 g.* (Kiev, 1962), pp. 437-44; and N. N. Leshchenko, "Krest'ianskaia reforma 1861 goda v Khar'kovskoi gubernii," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1964 g.* (Kishinev, 1966), pp. 603-613.

[23] T. D. Lipovskaia, "Antikrepostnicheskoe dvizhenie na Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v 40—50-e gg. XIX v." (Candidate's diss., Dnipropetrovs'k State University, 1972).

published her findings in five articles in the collection of historical articles published annually since 1970 by Dnipropetrovs'k University.[24] All five are based upon documentary materials from the local archives. Three examine the revolts, petitions and social consciousness of the peasantry.[25] In the other two, Lipovskaia examined specific aspects of the final "crisis" of serfdom during the 1840s and 1850s: the oppression of the peasants by the gentry landlords, and the grain production of the serfs and their masters.[26]

Lipovskaia focuses attention upon indications of the "crisis of serf economy in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the 1840s and 1850s." For her, as for V. I. Lenin, the "penetration of commodity-money relations into the peasant and *pomeshchik* economy" was the element which started the disintegration of the old order. The gentry increasingly attempted to expand its production of marketable grain, to cultivate more cash crops, such as tobacco and sugar beets, and to develop its animal husbandry.[27] In order to accomplish these objectives, the landlords extended their demesne at the expense of peasant allotment land. Between the end of the eighteenth century and 1861, serf allotment land declined from 82 percent of total estate land to slightly more than 30 percent.[28] In only eighteen years, between 1840 and 1858, the gentry demesne of this region increased in size by 1,651,000 desiatines of land, that is, by 42.7 percent of the 1840 total.[29]

[24] *Nekotorye problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiia USSR: Tematicheskii sbornik statei professorsko-prepodavatel'skogo sostava kafedry istorii SSSR i USSR*, 5 vols. (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1970-74). The fourth volume in this series was entitled *Nekotorye voprosy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi i politicheskoi istorii Ukrainskoi SSR: Sbornik nauchnykh statei* (Dnipropetrovs'k, 1973).

[25] T. D. Lipovskaia, "Zhaloby kak forma klassovoi bor'by krepostnogo krest'ianstva levoberezhnoi Ukrainy v 1841-1860 gg.," *Nekotorye problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiia Ukrainskoi SSR*, vol. 3, pp. 138-48; "K voprosu o trebovaniiakh pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian v period pervoi revoliutsionnoi situatsii (na materialakh Levoberezhnoi Ukrainy)"; Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 126-34, "K istorii krest'ianskogo dvizheniia v Khar'kovskoi gubernii v pervoi treti XIX veka"; Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 156-63.

[26] T. D. Lipovskaia, "K voprosu o polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian levoberezhnoi Ukrainy nakanune padeniia krepostnogo prava"; Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 164-72, "K voprosu o sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva levoberezhnoi Ukrainy v 1841-1860 gg."; Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 73-79.

[27] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 74. Unfortunately, the author does not provide any evidence to support this contention.

[28] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 75. The source for this information was I. D. Koval'chenko, *Russkoe krepostnoe krest'ianstvo v pervoi polovine XIX veka* (Moscow, 1967), p. 388. The percentages were calculated by this reviewer.

[29] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 165. One desiatine is equal to 2.7 acres.

This remarkable increase in the agricultural enterprise of the gentry landlords of the Left-Bank Ukraine was detrimental to the peasant economy and to serf allotment agriculture. By the late 1850s, approximately 12 percent of the serf peasants in the region had no allotment land and cultivated only their household garden plots. Another 21 percent had neither allotment land nor garden plot to cultivate. Because former pasture lands had to be plowed to feed the villagers, the allotment lands could not support the number of animals previously owned by the peasants. Left with no work animals whatsoever were 73 percent of the serfs in the province of Poltava, along with 66 percent in Kharkiv and 64 percent in Chernihiv.[30] As a result, nearly two-thirds of the serf peasants in this region were unable to carry on independent agriculture.

Peasants able to cultivate land received allotments from the landowner, but in return these serfs worked three or more days a week on the landlord's demesne. Money payments were almost non-existent in the Left-Bank Ukraine.[31] Peasants with little or no land became dependent day laborers or "household people" (*dvorovye*), working upon the demesne or in the manor house. Between 1851 and 1859, the number of "household people" soared by 188 percent in Chernihiv, by 380 percent in Poltava and by 435 percent in Kharkiv.[32] The increase of sugar-beet and tobacco plantations and crop-related factory processing in the Left-Bank Ukraine induced many of the gentry to hire out their own serfs to the plantation owners. The illegal selling of serfs without land also reduced peasant landholding and turned many serfs into dependent laborers.[33]

Lipovskaia points out the economic problems that began to beset some of the estates. Despite the increased economic exploitation of the serfs, not all of the gentry estates prospered. The fortunity of inheritance and marriage divided many estates, and some were sold to the more industrious landowners and plantation owners. The eighth and tenth revisions revealed that between 1834 and 1858 the gentry declined by 8 percent, while male revision serfs declined by 38

[30] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 165.

[31] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 167. The source for the relative distribution of money payments is Hurzhii, *Rozklad feodal'no-kriposnyts'koi systemy*, p. 26.

[32] Computed from data provided by Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 166.

[33] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," pp. 166-68.

percent.[34] A comparison of gentry agricultural statistics reveals that the old economic order on the gentry estates had reached the point of diminishing returns. Although the serfs sowed 13.5 percent more grain and potatotes on the demesne in the 1850s than in the 1840s, they harvested only 8.3 percent more.[35] Although between 1834 and 1858—i.e., between the ninth and tenth revisions—the gentry population in the Left-Bank Ukraine declined, the number of peasants mortgaged to state lending institutions by nobles remained stable. Thus, the indebtedness of the average landowner increased as the total value of the loans remained stable or increased slightly.[36] Not only were the declining profits of some of the estates insufficient to pay off these mortgages, but some of them could not even remit the soul taxes levied on their estates on the basis of the number of able-bodied male serfs.[37]

Another aspect of the growing crisis of serfdom, according to Lipovskaia, was the development of market relations within the

[34] Percentages computed from data provided by Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 76. Unfortunately, the author does not consider the possibility that census methods may have changed or that new laws may have redefined the gentry. In 1857, S. I. Kovan'ko wrote that "the number of 'personal gentry' (*lichnykh dvorian*) with time has declined by the lifting of the right to acquire this title to the *chin* of the ninth class ... ." See Kovan'ko's *Opisanie Khar'kovskoi gubernii*, pt. 4: *Ètnograficheskaia statistika* (Kharkiv, 1857), p. 52. Lipovskaia is also incorrect in assuming that the number of gentry estates declined concomittantly with the number of the gentry. Although she maintains that many estates were subdivided, she presents no data to illustrate this trend, which should not be assumed even though it might be expected. She does indicate, without providing evidence, that there was a net decline in the number of estates. This decline would suggest the consolidation of estates which would allow economies of scale to make them relatively more profitable. See Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," pp. 76-77.

[35] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 77. The author argues that the additional sowing resulted from the increase in cultivated demesne. This may be so, but the lack of adequate data on cultivated land area behooved a leading scholar to base his conclusions about gentry agriculture upon seed-yield ratios, rather than upon approximations of sowing or harvests per cultivated land area. See I. D. Koval'chenko, "K voprosu o sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva pered otmenoi krepostnogo prava v Rossii," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1959 g.* (Moscow, 1961), p. 194, for his cautionary word about land statistics and for the data on crops sown, and p. 199, for data on harvests.

[36] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 170. The source of this information is Koval'chenko, "K voprosu o sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva," p. 203. It is interesting that Lipovskaia did not use Koval'chenko's data on the number of mortgaged peasants, but rather cited secondary sources on the percent of mortgaged estates. She states that 54 percent of the estates on the Left Bank were mortgaged.

[37] Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 170.

peasant economy. The author considers one of the primary indications of this to be the stratification of the peasantry. While some serfs were losing their allotment lands and were unable to maintain work animals, other peasants were accumulating both animals and extra allotments. On one large estate in Poltava province, 26 percent of the serfs owned 99 percent of the oxen, 86 percent of the horses and most of the other movable goods.[38] The more prosperous peasants had the opportunity to rent the allotment land that peasants without animals were unable to cultivate. Sometimes the wealthy peasants would rent out this allotment land to landless serf laborers, not infrequently the original holders of the land. This economic stratification was accompanied by a social differentiation, especially when the rich peasants became the petty officials charged with the preservation of order and the augmentation of productivity on the estate.[39]

Lipovskaia considers the marketing of grain another indicator of the spread of market relations to the serf peasants. The author apparently discovered data concerning Left-Bank grain production and marketing by the landlords and the serfs. According to her figures, nearly 70 percent of the marketed grain came from the demesne, but 30 percent was grown on serf allotments.[40] If her figures are correct, the existence of commodity grain production among serfs would indeed indicate that, despite the increasing demands of the landlords, the peasantry was producing considerably more grain than it required for its own consumption. Unfortunately, the absence of similar data for the 1840s does not allow Lipovskaia to ascertain whether the market participation of the peasantry of the Left Bank was increasing or declining.

Lipovskaia's interpretation of the crisis within the peasant economy in the Left-Bank Ukraine departs from that of other scholars. I. D. Koval'chenko demonstrated that serf agriculture in the Left Bank in the 1840s and 1850s remained essentially unchanged between the two decades. He hypothesized that the increase in the grain production of one portion of the serfs obfuscated the decline in the production

38 Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 169.

39 Lipovskaia, "O polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," pp. 168-170.

40 Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 79. Unfortunately, these very interesting figures must be considered dubious, because the citation is in error. Not only is the page number of the source cited incorrect, but none of the works by the author cited, Koval'chenko, contains the data on the Left-Bank Ukraine which Lipovskaia presents.

of the other portion.[41] Although she makes allowances for the minority of well-to-do peasants, Lipovskaia argues that, on the average, the allotment-land grain productivity of the serfs was below that of the gentry demesne.[42] She presents empirical evidence from the annual reports of the provincial governors to demonstrate that the grain production on the allotments of the Left-Bank peasantry in the 1850s was considerably lower than it was in the 1842-1850 period.

A reexamination of the data, reputedly compiled from the annual reports of the governors of the three Left-Bank provinces, demonstrates that she misinterpreted her evidence. Even her figures present a rather stable picture of serf agriculture, especially in view of the fact that the serfs were losing their best lands to increases of the demesne. According to the seed and harvest grain annual averages that she presents, the ratio of net grain yield (i.e., minus seed grain) to seed grain in the three Left-Bank provinces was 1.92 in the 1840s and 1.90 in the 1950s.[43] This does not represent a significant decline. But more important than her mistaken evaluation of the figures she arrived at is the fact that her figures cannot be replicated. Koval'chenko has published quite different seed and harvest grain annual

[41] I. D. Koval'chenko, "K voprosu o sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian Evropeiskoi Rossii v 40—50-x godakh XIX v.," *Nauchnye doklady vysshei shkoly: Istoricheskie nauki*, 1959, no. 2, pp. 94-95.

[42] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 78. The author stated that the statistical data concerning serf grain yields would demonstrate "that the grain yields of the serfs were even lower than on the landlord's demesne." However, Lipovskaia did not present demesne grain-yield data in any of her articles, although she did cite Koval'chenko's demesne grain data. Unfortunately, it would be a mistake to compare allotment and demesne harvest totals because of the differences in sown area and crop yields. The data presented by Lipovskaia and Koval'chenko are also incompatible in that the former presented yield per desiatine averages, while the latter worked only with seed-yields ratios. Not only is it impossible to make the comparison which Lipovskaia suggested, but it is not quite clear how she arrived at her own conclusion regarding the relative productivity of allotment and demesne.

[43] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziastva." The following table summarizes the data presented by Lipovskaia. The seed-yield ratios were calculated by this reviewer.

GRAINS SOWN AND HARVESTED ON SERF ALLOTMENTS OF THE LEFT BANK, 1842-1860 (in thousands of *chetverty*)

	Grains Sown		*Grain Harvests*		*Net Yield-to-Seed Ratio*		
Period	*Winter*	*Spring*	*Winter*	*Spring*	*Winter*	*Spring*	*Total*
1842-1850	500	608	1569.	1667	2.14	1.74	1.92
1851-1860	605	761	1777	2186	1.94	1.87	1.90
% Change	+21	+25	+13	+31	—9	+7	—1

averages from the same archival sources. According to these data, the net yield-to-seed ratio on the serf allotment was lower in the second decade, but the average net grain yield per peasant declined only insignificantly, from 1.66 to 1.62 *chetverty* of grain.[44]

The issue is not merely a disagreement over the statistical data, but over the nature of the "crisis of serfdom" in the Left-Bank Ukraine. According to Lipovskaia, the crisis consisted of a general decline in the agricultural productivity on both the demesne and the serf allotment. Evidence of prosperity within the peasant economy is viewed chiefly as an indication of stratification and class struggle between rich and poor. The crisis which she describes is one of steadily declining underproduction. On the other hand, Koval'chenko defines the crisis in the Left Bank in terms of both decline and development. According to the crop productivity indicators, peasant agriculture remained stable while gentry grain cultivation suffered a moderate decline. Koval'chenko argues that the crisis occurred when the peasants, who had become the most productive element of the population, were denied normal access to sufficient land, capital, and other means of production. In his view, the crisis resulted from restrictions placed upon the further expansion of serf agriculture.[45]

[44] For the data published by Koval'chenko, see his article, "K voprosu o sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 96. This reviewer also worked with the same archival material while gathering crop statistics for Kharkiv province. The reviewer's findings duplicate those of Koval'chenko. The difference between the findings of Lipovskaia and Koval'chenko can be summarized as follows:

	Lipovskaia	*Koval'chenko*
Net Yield-to-Seed Ratio:		
1842-1850	1.92	2.61
1851-1860	1.90	2.29
% Change	—1	—12
Average Net Yield per Peasant:		
1842-1850	1.28	1.66
1851-1860	1.52	1.62
% Change	+19	—2

It should be noted, in passing, that the above figures do not all appear in the works of the two authors. These values have been computed from the average annual figures which they provided for each of the two time periods. Lipovskaia uses the average annual figures to compute yield per desiatine figures, which must be approximations at best. Koval'chenko uses the average annual figures he obtained to provide yield-to-seed ratios in his article on demesne agriculture, but not in the article on allotment agriculture. However, in the article on the allotment he did calculate the average annual net yield per peasant. That figure for each Left-Bank province can be found in "O sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," pp. 86-87.

[45] See I. D. Koval'chenko, "Nekotorye voprosy genezisa kapitalizma v krest'ianskom

In order to decide between these conflicting interpretations, it is necessary (1) to evaluate accurately the agricultural productivity of the gentry and its serfs, and (2) to judge whether this indicator actually reflects the economic relationships between landlord and peasant prior to 1861.

Lipovskaia does not consider the differences in the grain productivity of the serfs in the three provinces of the region. For example, the province of Chernihiv lay farther to the north than the others, and had different soils and a less temperate climate. The southeastern reaches of Kharkiv province consisted of arid steppe, which was markedly different from the rich soil found in Poltava. Moreover, Lipovskaia's use of averages for the two time periods does not allow an evaluation of the effect of climatic and other variable factors. She must be faulted, at the very least, for failing to explain why she chose to evaluate regional and "decade" averages, rather than the primary provincial and annual figures with which she worked. Even a perfunctory examination of the provincial differences and annual changes argues against accepting a uniform explanation of agricultural development in all three provinces.

An examination of the average amount of grain sown and harvested by the serfs in the three distinct provinces of the Left-Bank Ukraine demonstrates three different trends.[46] Serfs in Poltava sowed and harvested far more grain than the serfs in either of the other two provinces. Their net grain yield and the average grain yield per peasant was the highest in the region. The average grain yield per peasant and the net yield-to-seed ratio for this province changed only slightly between the 1840s and the 1850s.

The change in average annual grain production on the serf allotments in the three provinces between the decades of the 1840 and 1850 is shown by the following chart:

khoziaistve Rossii," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1962, no. 6, pp. 83-87; Idem., *Russkoe krepostnoe krest'ianstvo v pervoi polovine XIX veka*, (Moscow, 1967), pp. 378-85.

[46] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 76; Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 96. Average annual grain productivity on gentry demesne during the two periods was computed from data provided by Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva," pp. 220-21. The demesne net yield-to-seed ratios for each province are the following:

	1842-1850	*1851-1860*	*% Change*
Chernihiv	2.46	2.01	—18
Poltava	2.77	2.78	+ 1
Kharkiv	2.55	2.21	—13

PERCENT OF CHANGE IN ALLOTMENT GRAIN PRODUCTIVITY, 1840s TO 1850s[47]

Province	*Net Grain Yield-to-Seed Ratio*	*Net Grain Yield per Peasant*
Chernihiv	—22	—15
Poltava	— 4	0
Kharkiv	—17	+ 5

Although the net grain yield-to-seed ratio declined in all three provinces, the amount of grain "income" available to the average peasant declined in Chernihiv, increased in Kharkiv, and changed not at all in Poltava. Although there may have been a decline in soil fertility or a worsening of climatic factors, there was no general crisis in the serf economy of the region. If it shows anything, the degree of change suggests that developments in the agriculture of the serfs in these three provinces were far more complex than Lipovskaia argued.

Lipovskaia also overlooked entirely the cultivation of potatoes, despite the fact that the serfs of the Left-Bank Ukraine sowed 32 percent more potatoes in the 1850s than in the 1840s. Although the amount of land sown in potatoes is not known, the potato represented only 8 percent of all crops sown on serf allotments of the Left Bank in the 1840s, but increased dramatically to 26 percent of the total in the 1850s. Nevertheless, there were remarkable differences between the provinces. In both decades the net potato yield-to-seed ratio was highest on serf allotment land in Poltava and lowest in Kharkiv. Net yield per peasant was highest in Chernihiv, however—a fact which suggests that its serfs were more willing to accept potatoes as a substitute for grain crops, despite only mediocre potato productivity. Net potato yield per peasant increased by 33 percent in Chernihiv between the 1840s and 1850s, whereas there was only a 20 percent rise in Poltava and an 11 percent decline in Kharkiv. Peasants in Chernihiv increased the amount of potatoes sown from 10 percent to 14 percent of the total number of *chetverty* of potato and grain sown in the 1840s and 1850s, despite a decline in net potato yield. In Poltava, however, potatoes represented 7 percent of total crops sown in both decades, despite the fact that productivity was high in the 1840s and even increased in the 1850s. Grain production sup-

[47] See the Appendix, p. 549.

planted some potato cultivation in Kharkiv province, where the potato accounted for only 5 percent of both total crops sown in the 1840s and 4 percent of those sown in the 1850s (see the Appendix, p. 549).

Lipovskaia follows other Soviet scholars, including Koval'chenko, in averaging the yearly crop data into two periods: 1842-1850 and 1851-1860. The author says that she began with the data for 1842 because crop reports for earlier years did not distinguish between production on the demesne and the allotment,[48] but she also does not explain why it was necessary to average the annual totals into a nine-year and a ten-year period. The following computations for Kharkiv province demonstrate that two equal nine-year or two equal ten-year periods produce quite different averages.[49]

AVERAGE ANNUAL GRAIN PRODUCTION ON SERF ALLOTMENTS IN KHARKIV PROVINCE FOR TWO PERIODS, EQUAL AND UNEQUAL (in thousands of *chetverty*)

Years Averaged	*Periods*	*Sown*	*Harvested*	*Yield per Peasant*	*Net Yield-to-Seed Ratio*
9	1842-1850	279	1005	1.63	2.60
10	1851-1860	370	1174	1.71	2.17
	% Change	+33	+17	+5	—17
9	1842-1850	279	1005	1.63	2.60
9	1851-1859	369	1154	1.67	2.13
	% Change	+32	+15	+2	—18
10	1842-1851	278	1021	1.67	2.67
10	1852-1861	380	1171	1.68	2.08
	% Change	+37	+15	+1	—22

48 Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 76. For additional, useful information about the governors' annual reports, see his "Dinamika urovnia zemledel'cheskogo proizvodstva Rossii v pervoi polovine XIX v.," *Istoriia SSSR*, 1959, no. 1, pp. 57-59.

49 I have used Koval'chenko's, rather than Lipovskaia's, annual averages for the uneven periods. I assume that she made arithmetical mistakes in finding the period averages, and would have arrived at the same averages as Koval'chenko had she been as careful as he. To recalculate the period averages, I used the crop statistics in the following governors' reports in fund 1281 in the Central State Historical Archive in Leningrad: *opis'* 5, 1851 *god, delo* 63, *listy* 265-66; op. 5, 1852 g., d. 72, 265-66; op. 5, 1853 g., d. 100, 148-49; op. 5, 1854 g., d. 71, 104-105; op. 6, 1855 g., d. 82, 132-33; op. 6, 1856 g., d. 93, 121-22; op. 6, 1857 g., d. 101, 381-82; op. 6, 1858 g., d. 98, 354-55; op. 6, 1859 g., d. 90, 285-86; op. 6, 1860 g., d. 60, 276-77; op. 6, 1861 g., d. 83, 51-52; op. 6, 1862 g., d. 95, 257-58.

Had Lipovskaia chosen to use different periods, the results for Poltava and Chernihiv and for all of the Left-Bank Ukraine would have been somewhat different than the figures she arrived at. As the degree of change between the two periods would then differ substantially from those provided, conclusions based upon that measure of decline or growth would have to be revised. Aggregated data, like historical generalizations, should be used only with great caution and repeated testing.

It is difficult to understand why Lipovskaia did not avoid the dangers of aggregate data by using the yearly crop figures which she found in the annual reports of the governors of the three provinces. Perhaps she hoped to reduce some of the violent fluctuations inherent in crop statistics, which, of course, reflect climatic conditions. Such variations can easily be avoided, however, by the use of a "moving average," a statistical technique which averages crop totals for a given year with totals for previous and later years. The use of this technique is justified because, in any given year, agricultural production is influenced by previous conditions and influences later agricultural efforts.[50] This technique "averages out" some of the year-to-year influences, without substantially reducing the number of data points —that is, years or periods for which data is available. The moving average of crop yields for twenty years describes the changes in agricultural production much more accurately than two nine-year or two ten-year averages. If the agricultural productivity of the gentry and its serfs is to serve as an indicator of the decline of serfdom, then it is important that this yardstick be sufficiently sophisticated to measure the changes which took place.

Published crop statistics permit the computation of the three-year moving average of net crop yield-to-seed ratios for winter and spring grains and potato crops on the demesne of the gentry of the provinces of Poltava, Chernihiv and Kharkiv for the period 1843 to 1859.[51]

[50] For example, a snowless winter in the last quarter of one year often meant a winter wheat failure the following spring. Moreover, the serfs had few outside sources for improved seed. Generally, they were forced to sow the poor, undeveloped seed that had been harvested the previous year.

[51] Koval'chenko has made available the *annual* crop statistics for gentry estates of more than forty provinces. For the amount of winter and spring grains and potatoes sown and harvested each year from 1842 to 1860 on the demesne of Chernihiv, Poltava and Kharkiv provinces, see Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva," pp. 219-21. It is unfortunate that comparable, annual data for allotment agriculture has not been published for *any* province.

(See Graphs 1, 2 and 3.) These crop statistics, which are merely cited by Lipovskaia, reveal complex changes in demesne productivity that she did not even suspect. Seed-yield ratios were highest in all provinces of the Left Bank in the early 1840s. Because comparable crop statistics for the 1830s do not exist, it is impossible to know if these high yields were abnormal or normal prior to the 1840s. At least during the period for which data is available, however, net yield-to-seed ratios above 3.20 were indeed rare.

Agricultural productivity upon the demesne did not decline steadily from the 1840s to the 1850s. Instead, there was a sharp decline in the 1840s that ended in the well-documented crop failure of 1848-49. The productivity of winter and spring grains rose in the early 1850s, declined again during the Crimean War, and recovered thereafter. After the crop failure of 1849, net potato yield recovered dramatically in Poltava and Kharkiv provinces, but then continued to decline slowly in all three provinces throughout the 1850s. Although agricultural productivity on gentry estates was not as high as it had been in the early 1840s, the productivity trends do not indicate that the decline was irreversible or innate to gentry agriculture. Instead, demesne productivity seems to have been affected greatly by climatic and political disasters.

Doubtlessly, crop productivity on serf allotments also declined in the 1840s and recovered somewhat in the 1850s. Because annual statistics of serf agriculture have not yet been published, a comparison of the trends in the three provinces is not possible. Although she examined the annual reports, Lipovskaia apparently drew her conclusions from the nine-year and ten-year averages, which obfuscate the real patterns and which, in any case, do not coincide with the averages for the same periods obtained by Koval'chenko and this writer. Lipovskaia's contention that serf grain productivity was far below the productivity of the demesne does not coincide with the findings of Koval'chenko.[52] He found that in the Left-Bank Ukraine during the 1840s, the allotment and demesne yield-to-seed ratios were identical.[53] A detailed examination of the annual net yield-to-seed

[52] Lipovskaia, "O sostoianii krepostnogo khoziaistva," p. 78.

[53] According to Koval'chenko, the gentry seed-yield ratio was 3.6 for the 1842-50 period and 3.5 during the 1850s. See Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva," p. 198. The seed-yield ratio on the serf allotment was 3.6 in the first period, and 3.3 in the second. See Koval'chenko, "O sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian," p. 81. The point made here is that her findings are not in agreement with the published results of another Soviet historian. It is also possible

ratios obtained on the serf allotments and gentry demesnes of Kharkiv province in the 1850s demonstrates the trends in crop productivity. (See Graphs 4, 5 and 6.) The similarity of the fluctuations suggests that climatic factors, more than anything else, affected the interconnected agriculture of lord and peasant. Disparities developed only after 1859, when allotment grain productivity faltered and potato yield increased.

The detailed examination of the crop statistics of the three individual provinces of the Left Bank raises other important questions. Historians like Lipovskaia have only begun the process of elucidating some of the regional differences and most, like Lipovskaia, have not recognized the local variations. Consequently, they are far from being able to explain the significance of these variations. Lipovskaia's approach does not allow her to explain even striking differences in crop productivity. For example, why did productivity on gentry estates in Chernihiv province begin to improve after 1845 and remain relatively unaffected by the crop failure of 1849, which virtually devastated estate agriculture in the other two provinces? (See Graphs 1, 2 and 3.) Because serfs in some areas specialized in certain crops, differences between crop yields must also be explained. Why did potato yields on both the demesne and the allotment in Kharkiv province rise in the early 1850s but decline in the late 1850s—just when grain productivity, which had remained at a low level, began to rise? (See Graphs 4, 5 and 6.) Clearly, the answers to these questions would clarify the meaning of the "crisis of serfdom." If crop productivity is to serve as an indicator of the crisis of serfdom, then it is necessary to ask such questions and to devise and test more refined hypotheses that can explain the complexity of the trends in crop productivity and its significance as one aspect of serfdom.

This criticism does not necessarily mean that there was no "crisis of serfdom" in the Left-Bank Ukraine prior to the emancipation of the serfs. The present investigation suggests that local statistics, when refined and used with caution, reveal much more than some Soviet historians of the peasantry have so far imagined. Once the actual trends are established by the use of local and annual values, rather than regional and decade averages, it will be possible to measure the association between factors inherent in the "crisis of serfdom." The hypothesis that gentry mortgages were necessary because of the feeble-

to argue that two decade averages, even if calculated accurately, are not a sufficient number of data points with which to define a trend.

ness of estate economy can be tested, for example, by finding the correlation of yearly mortgage applications in a given province with the annual demesne net crop yield in that province across twenty or more years. If the demesne crop yields and gentry mortgage applications are not closely associated, then these two aspects of serfdom must not have been linked as closely in the actions and ledger books of the landlords as they have been in the assumptions and works of most general historians.

The chief value of local investigations of the peasantry is that they test the hypotheses constructed on the basis of information covering large geographic areas and long time spans. The purpose of such studies should not be solely to find support at the local level for the broad historical generalizations. It is essential to determine the locally-varied relative importance of those factors (e.g., crop yields, grain prices) that had an impact upon the peasant's life and work. Only the detailed investigation of such factors and an accurate interpretation of their relative significance in many localities will define the actual "crisis of serfdom."[54]

Naturally, crop productivity is only one indicator of the viability, or lack thereof, of serfdom. Crop productivity reflects the success or failure of agricultural enterprise under the conditions imposed by serfdom. Other aspects of serfdom—the social relationships between landlord and serf, estate profitability or bankruptcy and serf impoverishment, for example—must be measured by other indicators, such as the yearly fluctuations in peasant unrest, gentry mortgages, crop prices, and peasant tax payments. Historians should analyze the trends in these indicators, rather than merely quote the aggregated figures for long periods. Only when the trends are evident will it be possible to test for associative or dependent relationships between the indicators of the various aspects of the socio-economic system of serfdom. Only when all of the important indicators have been thoroughly analyzed and their interrelatedness understood will it be possible to explain fully the crisis of serfdom. This ambitious objective can only be realized at the local level.

[54] For a thorough analysis of peasant agriculture and of factors influencing that agriculture in Kharkiv province before 1861, see Z. Deal, "Serf and State Peasant Agriculture: Kharkov Province, 1842-1861," (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1978).

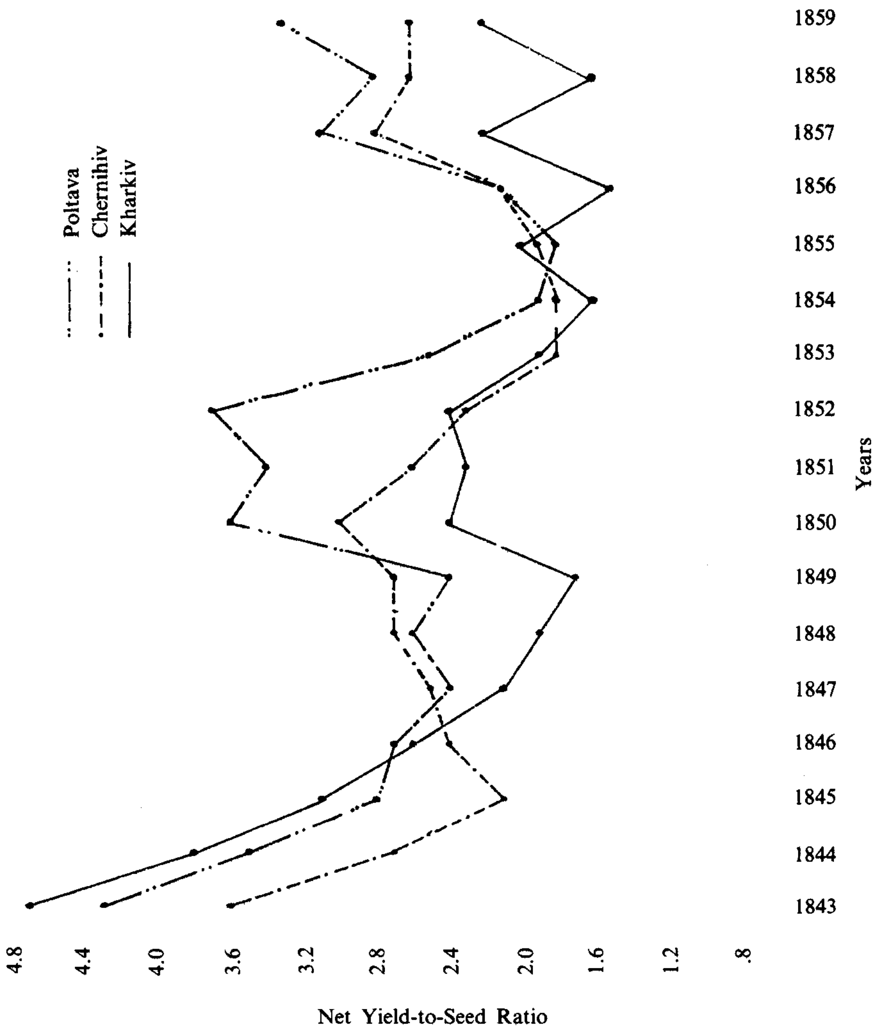
GRAPHS

Graphs 1, 2 and 3 are based upon the annual crop statistics of gentry demesne land in the three Left-Bank provinces of Chernihiv, Poltava and Kharkiv. These data were published in an appendix to I. D. Koval'chenko's article, "K voprosu o sostoianii pomeshchich'ego khoziaistva pered otmenoi krepostnogo prava v Rossii," *Ezhegodnik po agrarnoi istorii Vostochnoi Evropy: 1959 g.* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 219-21.

Graphs 4, 5 and 6 are based upon the gentry demesne and serf allotment crop statistics included in the annual report of the governor of Kharkiv province to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These reports are now located in the Central State Historical Archive in Leningrad, where the reviewer was privileged to use them in 1975. Most of the relevant archival tomes are located in fund 1281. The crop statistics were located in sixteen *delo*. In addition to the twelve in fund 1281 for 1850-61, which were cited in footnote 49, information for 1862-65 was found in fund 1281 in op. 6, 1862 g., d. 95, 257-58; op. 7, 1865 g., d. 69, 228-29; op. 7, 1866 g., d. 61, 195-96; and in fund 1263, op. 1, d. 3095, 1279-80.

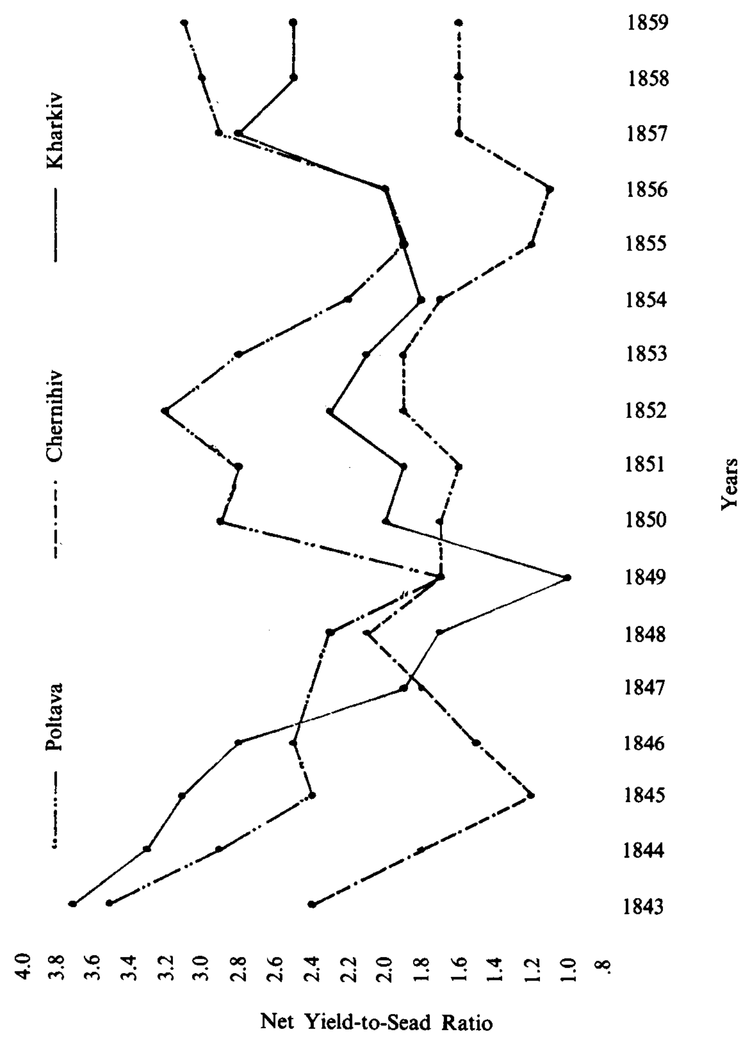
THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF THE NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO OF WINTER GRAIN CULTIVATED ON GENTRY DEMESNE IN THE LEFT-BANK UKRAINE, 1842-1860

Graph 1



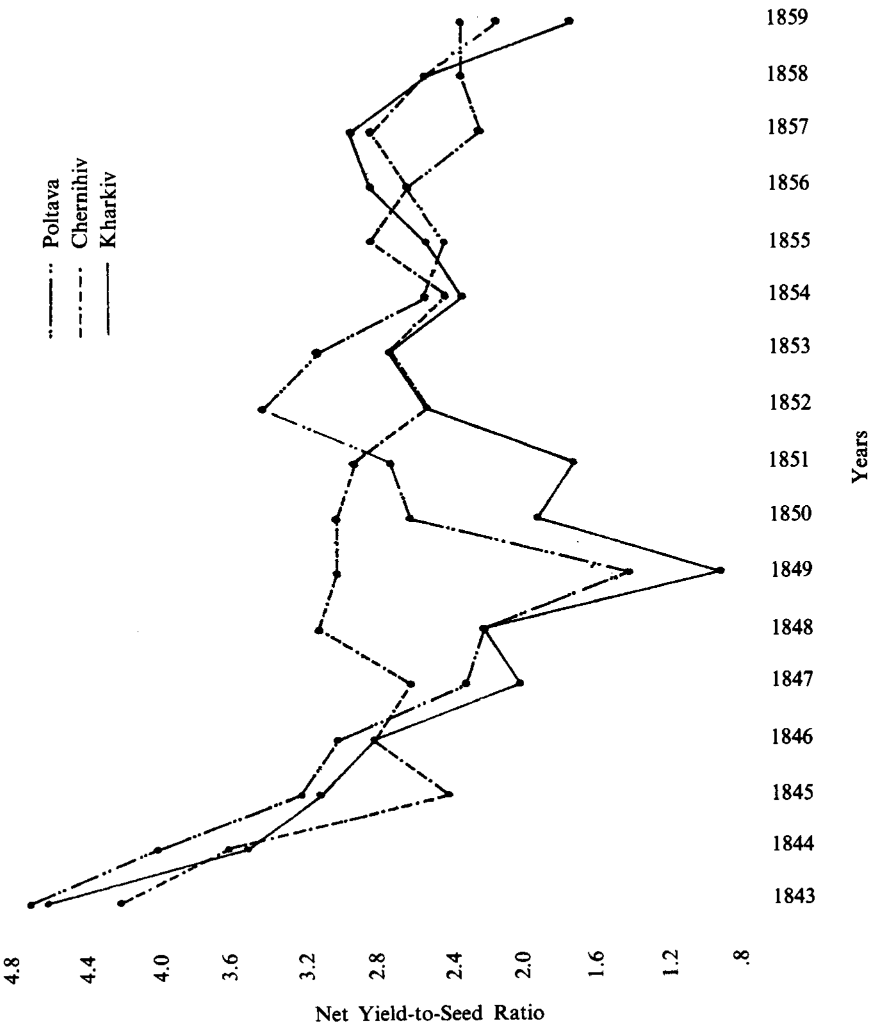
THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF THE NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO
OF SPRING GRAIN CULTIVATED ON GENTRY DEMESNE
IN THE LEFT-BANK UKRAINE, 1842-1860

Graph 2



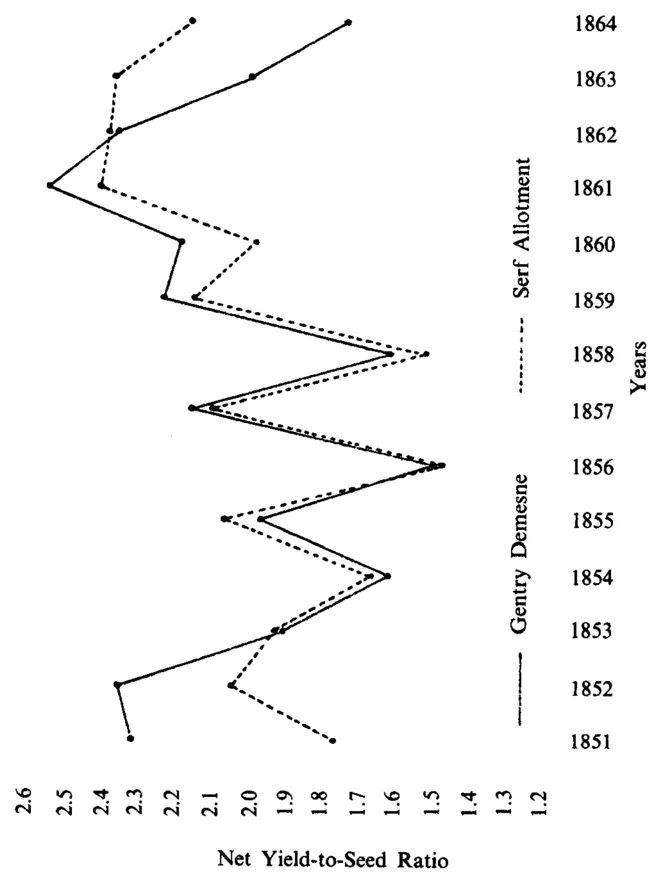
THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF THE NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO OF POTATO CROPS CULTIVATED ON GENTRY DEMESNE IN THE LEFT-BANK UKRAINE, 1842-1860

Graph 3



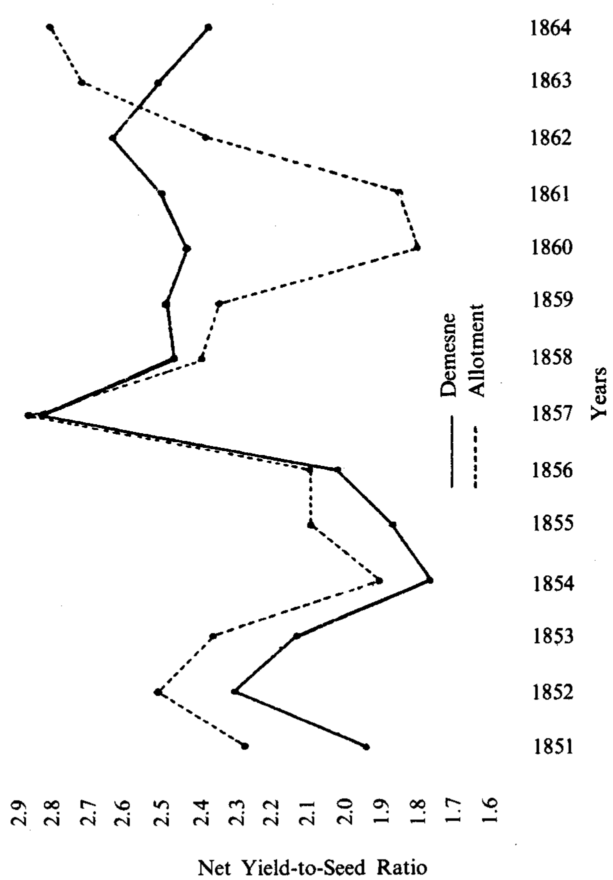
WINTER GRAIN NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO ON GENTRY DEMESNE AND SERF ALLOTMENT IN KHARKIV PROVINCE: THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (1850-1865)

Graph 4



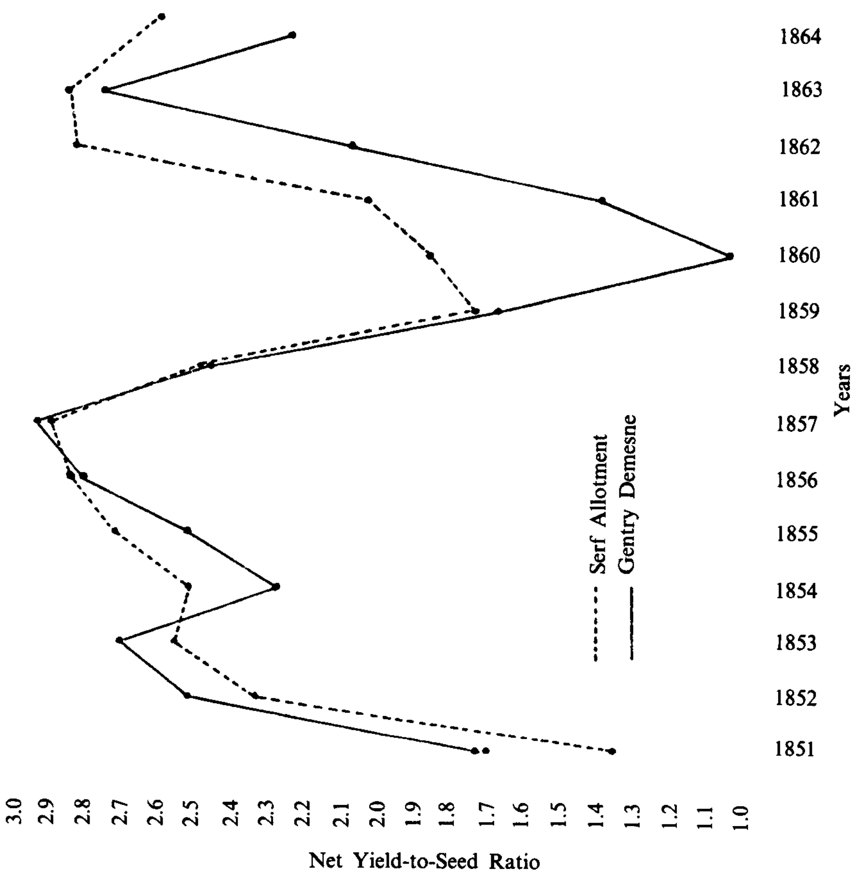
SPRING GRAIN NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO ON GENTRY DEMESNE AND SERF ALLOTMENT IN KHARKIV PROVINCE: THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (1850-1865)

Graph 5



POTATO NET YIELD-TO-SEED RATIO ON GENTRY DEMESNE AND SERF ALLOTMENT IN KHARKIV PROVINCE: THREE-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (1850-1865)

Graph 6



APPENDIX

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON SERF ALLOTMENTS IN THE LEFT-BANK UKRAINE, 1842-1860
(in thousands of *chetverty*)*

	ALL GRAINS 1842-1850	1851-1860	% Change	*POTATOES* 1842-1850	1851-1860	% Change	*TOTAL* 1842-1850	1851-1860	% Change
Crops sown:									
Chernihiv	366	389	6	42	64	52	408	453	11
Poltava	413	448	8	30	35	17	443	483	9
Kharkiv	279	370	33	15	16	7	294	386	31
Left-Bank Ukraine	1058	1207	14	87	115	32	1145	1322	15
Crops Harvested:									
Chernihiv	1182	1071	— 9	163	219	34	1345	1290	— 4
Poltava	1635	1725	6	130	156	20	1765	1881	7
Kharkiv	1005	1174	17	55	52	— 5	1060	1226	16
Left-Bank Ukraine	3822	3970	4	348	427	23	4170	4397	5
Net Crop Yield:									
Chernihiv	816	682	—16	121	155	28	937	837	—11
Poltava	1222	1277	5	100	121	21	1322	1398	6
Kharkiv	726	804	11	40	36	—10	766	840	10
Left-Bank Ukraine	2764	2763	— 0.04	261	312	20	3025	3075	2
Net Crop Yield per Peasant:									
Chernihiv	1.45	1.23	—15	0.21	0.28	33	1.66	1.51	— 9
Poltava	1.87	1.87	0	0.15	0.18	20	2.03	2.05	1
Kharkiv	1.63	1.71	5	0.09	0.08	—11	1.72	1.78	3
Left-Bank Ukraine	1.66	1.62	— 2	0.16	0.18	13	1.82	1.80	— 1
Net Crop Yield to Seed Ratio:									
Chernihiv	2.23	1.75	—22	2.88	2.42	—16	2.30	1.85	—20
Poltava	2.96	2.85	— 4	3.33	3.46	4	2.98	2.89	— 3
Kharkiv	2.60	2.17	—17	2.67	2.25	—16	2.61	2.18	—16
Left-Bank Ukraine	2.61	2.29	—12	3.00	2.71	—10	2.64	2.33	—12

* Grain and potato totals are the annual averages computed by I. D. Koval'chenko. These and the population figures are provided in an appendix to "K voprosu o sostoianii khoziaistva i polozhenii pomeshchich'ikh krest'ian Evropeiskoi Rossij v 40—50-x godakh XIX v.," *Nauchnye doklady vysshei shkoly: Istoricheskie nauki*, 1959, no. 2, p. 96. All computations by this writer were based upon those data.

REVIEWS

A Bibliographical Survey of Periodical Literature for 1973

UKRAJINS'KE LITERATUROZNAVSTVO [Ukrainian literary scholarship]. L'viv: "Vyšča skola," 1973. Vol. 18: 115 pp. Vol. 19: 152 pp. Vol. 20, "Ivan Franko—Articles and Documents": 104 pp. Ca. 1000 copies each.

The articles which appeared under the category of literary theory in the three volumes of *Ukrajins'ke literaturoznavstvo* for 1973 did not conform to the generally accepted definition of the rubric, for they dealt with specific periods in the history of Ukrainian literature, literary genres, and works of individual authors.

The section on the history of Old Ukrainian literature had only one brief annotation, of H. Skovoroda's *O vospitanii čad* (1609) [20: 99-101], and five announcements of articles dealing with Skovoroda's works [18: 96-102, 103-109, 110-115; 19: 87-92, 93-97].

Five articles appeared under the section devoted to the history of Ukrainian literature of the pre-Revolutionary and Soviet period. Two of these concerned the history of journalism in the Ukraine: one article discussed the periodical *Žytje i slovo* (1897-98) [19: 81-86], and the other the publications of the Literary Union of the Ukrainian Red Army and Navy (*Literaturne ob"jednannja Červonoji Armiji i Flotu na Ukrajini*) during 1930-34 [19: 127-30]. Two articles concerned the "Lenin theme" in Ukrainian prose of the 1920s [19: 40-45], and one the so-called war prose of the decade 1956-66 [18: 25-29; 19: 46-52].

Articles published under the section of Ukrainian classics focused on providing biographical data and discussing the work of the following authors: B. Hrinčenko [19: 131-35], H. Kvitka-Osnov"janenko [18: 83-90], L. Martovyč [19: 73-80], I. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj [19: 110-20], M. Pavlyk [18: 71-76, 91-95], V. Samijlenko [18: 56-63], M. Staryc'kyj (as translator of *Hamlet*) [18: 77-82], V. Stefanyk [18: 30-33], T. Ševčenko [19: 66-72], and P. J. Béranger [19: 98-102, 103-109].

The anthology subtitled "Ivan Franko—Articles and Documents" discussed the themes and figures which interested Franko: the history of Ukrainian literature and literary theory [pp. 3-9, 10-15], Ja. Holovac'kyj [pp. 65-68], H. Kvitka-Osnov"janenko [pp. 28-33], comedy and satire [pp. 76-80], the right to education [pp. 41-45], and the inclinations of youth [pp. 59-64]. Other articles in the volume dealt with Franko's poetics [pp. 16-21, 69-75, 86-90, 91-98], Franko as publicist [pp. 22-27], his Weltanschauung [pp. 51-58], his polemic with V. Ščurat on the question of decadence in literature [pp. 34-40], and his influence on the folklorist H. Tancjura [pp. 46-50]. Included in the volume was a bibliography of Frankiana published in 1972.

The section on Soviet literature offered articles on V. Blakytnyj [19: 60-65], Ja. Halan [19: 16-21], O. Havryljuk [19: 10-15], O. Hončar [19: 22-27], O. Dovženko [19: 53-59], M. Irčan [18: 64-70], P. Kozlanjuk [18: 34-43], A. Malyško [18: 50-55], V. Mynko [18: 44-49], M. Ryl's'kyj [19: 116-19], V. Sosjura [19: 28-34], M. Stel'max [18: 18-24, 19: 35-39], P. Tyčyna [18: 3-10] and Ju. Janovs'kyj [18: 11-17]. Also included was an article on Domna Botušans'ka, the Bukovynian "folk poetess and artist" who is absent from the *Dictionary of Artists of the Ukraine* (Kiev, 1973) as well as from the reference work *Writers of the Soviet Ukraine* (Kiev, 1970).

Three articles appeared under the section entitled "International Relations of Soviet Ukrainian Literature." One was of a general nature [19: 139-42]; one dealt with V. Sosjura and Belorussian literature [19: 28-34]; and one concerned Tadžik-Ukrainian literary relations [19: 136-38]. An equal number of articles appeared under the category "The Battle of Ukrainian Literature Against Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism" [19: 3-9, 10-15, 16-21]. A bibliography of related literature published between 1965 and 1972 also graced the section.

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LITERATURNA UKRAJINA [Literary Ukraine]. Pravlinnja Spilky pys'mennykiv Ukrajiny. Kiev, 1973. 46th year of publication, semi-weekly. Nos. 1-103.

There were no articles on the theory or history of literature in *Literaturna Ukrajina* for 1973. Items on poetics were limited to one note on H. Sydorenko's *Ukrajins'ke viršuvannja* (Kiev, 1972) [4: 3], and reviews of M. P. Hnatjuk's *Poema jak literaturnyj vyd* (Kiev, 1973) [12: 3] and O. N. Moroz's *Etjudy pro sonet* (Kiev, 1973) [77: 3].

The newspaper's section on publications contained the autograph of a dedication by Marko Vovčok [100: 2], excerpts from O. Dovženko's notebook for 1943 [87: 2], P. Panč's letters to young writers [100: 3], M. Ryl's'kyj's poem "Čornyj drozd mene bojit'sja ..." [21: 3], P. Tyčyna's previously unpublished literary criticism [7: 2] and letters to new writers [92: 2], and previously unpublished poems by V. Bondar' [102: 2] and H. Malovyk [44: 3]. Items on Old Ukrainian literature dealt only with the works of H. Skovoroda; these were announcements and reviews of foreign language publications of his works and related studies [2: 4, 10: 4, 13: 4, 16: 4].

Ukrainian classical writers discussed were M. Čeremšyna [44: 1, 48: 1, 55: 4], Ju. Fed'kovyč [38: 2], I. Franko [6: 4, 6: 43], S. Hulak-Artemovs'kyj [29: 2], V. Kapnist [91: 4], O. Kobyljans'ka [27: 4, 93: 3], I. Kotljarevs'kyj [3: 2], M. Kocjubyns'kyj [32: 1], M. Maksymovyč [93: 2], P. Myrnyj [10: 2], M. Pavlyk [19: 2], O. Ps'ol [99: 2], S. Rudans'kyj [35: 4, 36: 1, 68: 2], T. Ševčenko [17: 4, 19: 2, 3: 4, 20: 2, 29: 4, 46: 1, 49: 3, 63: 3, 96: 4, 99: 2], V. Stefanyk [4: 4],

Lesja Ukrajinka [9: 2, 11: 3, 65: 3] and the unveiling of her monument [69: 1, 69: 4, 70: 1-2-3], the Ustyjanovyč family [75: 4], and Marko Vovčok [95: 2-3, 100: 2].

Contemporary Soviet Ukrainian writers mentioned were: I. Bahmut [16: 2, 44: 2, 48: 3, 49: 1], M. Bažan [21: 2], D. Bedzyk [53: 3, 86: 3], P. Bejlin [46: 2], S. Bel'čenko [57: 4], O. Bojčenko [78: 1, 92: 2, 92: 3, 93: 1], V. Bol'šak [102: 3], D. Botušyns'ka [24: 4], R. Bratun' [23: 3, 49: 1], H. Brežn'ov, [90: 2], A. Xyžnjak [48: 1], O. Xološčenko [54: 3], P. Fedoriv [92: 3], A. Hajdar, [39: 2], Ja. Halan [69: 2], M. Hodovanec' [64: 4, 75: 2], A. Holovko [14: 2, 27: 3-4, 29: 2, 95: 3], O. Hončar [25: 2, 91: 3], K. Hordijenko [13: 2, 29: 1], Je. Hryhoruk [102: 4], I. Hryhurko [22: 3, 100: 3], O. Dovženko [72: 2, 72: 3, 74: 2], I. Drač [47: 1, 63: 2], A. Kacnel'son [92: 2-3], O. Kornijčuk [41: 4], V. Korotyč [23: 4, 35: 2, 80: 2], D. Kosaryk [41: 4], V. Kozačenko [22: 2, 23: 1-2, 38: 3, 48: 1, 52: 1], P. Kozlanjuk [57: 3], A. Kuročka [24: 2], O. Levada [41: 1-2-3, 92: 1], A. Malyško [36: 3, 67: 2, 92: 2], T. Masenko [90: 2], Ju. Mejheš [48: 1], I. Mel'nyčenko [23: 3], O. Mel'nyk [24: 2], M. Mizjun [26: 4], Ju. Mušketyk [49: 2], V. Mysyk [82: 3], B. Nečerda [39: 3-4], I. Nexoda [82: 2], A. Olijnyk [95: 4], P. Panč [67: 3], O. Pidsuxa [49: 1], N. Rybak [1: 2, 16: 1-4, 47: 1], T. Rybas [23: 4, 75: 3], M. Ryl's'kyj [39: 3, 57: 3, 58: 4, 75: 4], M. Rud' [23: 3, 94: 3], I. Senčenko [14: 3], M. Šeremet [50: 1], M. Špak [57: 3], Ju. Ščerbak [45: 3, 46: 3, 97: 3], V. Sobko [96: 2], V. Sosjura [2: 1-2, 3: 2, 4: 1, 63: 4], A. Stas' [23: 4], M. Stel'max [44: 4], B. Stepanjuk [39: 3, 54: 3, 101: 3], I. Stepanjuk [29: 3], M. Strokavs'kyj [13: 2, 17: 2], V. Suxomlyns'kyj [3: 2, 15: 3], V. Symonenko [20: 2], P. Tyčyna [9: 3, 30: 4, 41: 4, 43: 2-3, 73: 3, 91: 1], P. Usenko [12: 3], P. Voron'ko [66: 3, 94: 2, 98: 3], N. Zabila [18: 2], F. Zalata [14: 2, 23: 3], M. Zarudnyj [23: 3], Ju. Zbanac'kyj [103: 2], V. Zemljak [17: 2, 31: 4], and Ju. Janovs'kyj [90: 3, 98: 4].

Anniversary articles dealt with the following Ukrainian, Russian and Jewish authors: P. Biba [50: 3], H. Bojko [69: 3], L. Boloban [47: 3], O. Brods'kyj [24: 3], D. Xajkina [78: 3], V. Xolod [92: 3], O. Djakova-Tolkačova [52: 3], Ju. Dol'd-Myxajlyk [21: 3], H. Donec' [93: 3], I. Hajdaj [80: 3], L. Halkin [70: 3], M. Hirnyk [44: 3], I. Hlyns'kyj [89: 3], L. Horjačko [99: 3], O. Hurejev [81: 3], P. Hurinenko [75: 3], V. Kanivec' [78: 3], M. Karpljuk [63: 3], V. Kočevs'kyj [90: 3], H. Kryvda [65: 3], K. Kudijevs'kyj [24: 3], V. Lahoda [40: 2], X. Lytvynenko [39: 2], Ja. Majstrenko [81: 3], T. Mykytyn [77: 3], B. Palijčuk [43: 3], O. Parxomenko [71: 3], M. Podoljan [75: 3], P. Sambuk [76: 2], L. Sanov [45: 3], P. Šadura [80: 3], D. Šlapak [34: 3], M. Šmuškevyč [89: 3], Ju. Šovkopljas [10: 3], M. Šumylo [45: 2], F. Švindin [29: 4], M. Skazbuš [94: 3], D. Syzonenko [74: 2], X. Tabačnykov [49: 3], A. Turčyns'ka [11: 2], O. Uvarov [101: 3], L. Zemljakov [29: 3], V. Zubar [64: 3], O. Žurlyva [48: 3, 50: 4], M. Jaremenko [49: 3].

Items on literary scholars and critics referred to O. Bilec'kyj [17: 3], B. Burjak [61: 3], O. Dejč [36: 3], M. Il'nyc'kyj [7: 3], O. Kylymnyk [57: 3], Je. Kyryljuk [2: 3, 50: 1, 70: 2, 90: 4], B. Korsuns'ka [93: 3], M. Lohvynenko [23: 4, 93: 3], O. Mazurkevyč [71: 3], H. Morenec' (posthumous note) [19: 4], L. Novyčenko [23: 2, 91: 1], O. Pulynec' [95: 2], Je. Šabliovs'kyj [48: 3, 59: 4], M. Šalata [33: 3], S. Trofymčuk [89: 3], H. Verves [4: 4], P. Volyns'kyj [12: 4]. Rehabili-

tated writers mentioned were B. Bobyns'kyj [20: 3], P. Kapel'horods'kyj [25: 1, 62: 2], M. Kuliš [5: 4], I. Kulyk [14: 2], I. Mykytenko [54: 4].

Notes on writers who died in 1973 mentioned I. Barabaš [14: 4], K. Basenko [40: 3], Ju. Burjakivs'kyj [56: 3, 57: 4], M. Čabanivs'kyj [26: 2, 27: 4], O. Čerkasov [29: 4], Ju. Čornyj-Didenko [21: 4], V. Xronovyč [91: 4], V. Hžyc'kyj [102: 4], V. Kušnir [81: 4], T. Leonova [25: 4], O. Myxalevyč [38: 3], I. Muratov [25: 4], V. Pančenko [1: 4], L. Pervomajs'kyj [98: 2], V. Pidpalyj [93: 4], L. Serpilin [17: 4], V. Sobotovyč [23: 4], M. Strokovs'kyj [43: 4], N. Ušakov [91: 1, 2, 92: 4], A. Vološčak [62: 3, 99: 2-3], Ju. Zaruba [38: 3], I. Zolotarevs'kyj [95: 4].

Only two items dealt with Ukrainian literature outside the Ukrainian SSR: one with Ju. Borodyč of Czechoslovakia [8: 4] and the other with the almanac *Pam''jat'*, published in Szczecin, Poland [29: 4].

General articles on literary criticism referred to B. Burjak, I. Dorošenko, H. V''jazovs'kyj, S. Trofymuk, D. Zatons'kyj [6: 1-2], H. Markov [7: 1, 7: 3], S. Trofymuk [11: 3], V. Kostyčenko [12: 3], M. Strel'byc'kyj [13: 3], V. Djačenko [17: 3], V. Kosačenko [74: 2], O. Kaharlyc'ka [102: 3]. Other general articles covered various conferences of literary critics: the colloqium of Soviet and German critics held in Kiev [22: 2, 4], the Moscow conference of the International Association of Literary Critics [40: 1], and the discussions of the Committee on Criticism of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union [56: 3, 84: 2]. One item dealt with issues of the journal *Literaturno-krytyčnyj ohljad* for 1972 [102: 3].

General articles on poetry were written by literary critics D. Hryn'ko [26: 3], H. Hordasevyč [49: 3], Je. Adel'hejm [65: 2-3], and A. Makarov [90: 3]. Critics who published their views in the journal's forum on "poetry's socio-political calling" were S. Kryžanivs'kyj, A. Kacnel'son, V. Korž [72: 2]; M. Synhajivs'kyj and V. Vil'nyj [76: 2]; M. Nahnybida, M. Ušakov, M. Il'nyc'kyj, R. Lubkivs'kyj, and V. Zabaštans'kyj [90: 2].

Discussants of prose literature included V. Bilenko [1: 2], H. Lohvynenko [5: 1, 3], I. Kravčenko [9: 3], M. Žulyns'kyj [11: 3], an unnamed correspondent (on historical prose) [18: 3], I. Dorošenko (on the novel) [20: 3], I. Kravčenko [46: 3], I. Lubkovyč (on science fiction) [48: 3], Ju. Bedzyk (on the detective novel) [49: 3], M. Zulyns'kyj (on the war novel) [62: 3], M. Strel'byc'kyj [69: 3] and M. Levčenko [84: 3].

In 1973 *Literaturna Ukrajina* published a report on discussions relating to the newly-formed Dramaturgy, Film and Television Committee of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union [49: 2]. With that exception, no items or announcements of plays appeared.

A number of articles dealt with aspects of journalism, particularly the journalistic sketch. Authors were V. Jakovenko [24: 3], O. Slyvyns'kyj [29: 3], A. Xyžnjak, Ju. Labeznyk, M. Lukiv, P. Ščehel's'kyj and Ju. Tereščenko (on the occasion of Press Day) [34: 1-2], and M. Larin, whose article reviewed the collection *Zemni Zori*. The tendency was to emphasize "the absence of boundaries between journalism and literature," and to feature the journalistic sketch and "news story" (sometimes in verse). Original work by poets, prose writers and critics frequently intoned the "beauty of work" and referred to the valor of the "working people" at their assignments on collective farms, construction sites, factories, etc.

Individual poems and collections of poetry were accorded many annoucements and reviews. Poets discussed were B. Bjelaš [77: 3], Je. Božyk [97: 3], H. Bojko [80: 3], A. Bortnjak [27: 3], O. Dovhyj [3: 3], H. Donec' [101: 3], M. Haptar [34: 3], A. Hluščak [44: 3], N. Hnatjuk [67: 3], V. Kolodij [36: 3], M. Lukiv [57: 3], F. Milevs'kyj [32: 3], P. Morenec' and H. Malovyk [82: 3], M. Nahnybida [51: 3, 96: 3], B. Olijnyk [78: 3], S. Olijnyk [89: 3], P. Osadčuk [93: 3], V. Pančenko [58: 3], L. Pervomajs'kyj [15: 2], P. Perebyjnis [77: 3], P. Rebro [68: 2], M. Riško [63: 3], Ju. Serdjuk [63: 3], M. Šapoval [47: 3], Ja. Športa [54: 3], M. Som [58: 3], O. Strilec' [35: 3], M. Tarnovs'kyj [24: 3], V. Vil'nyj [2: 3], M. Vlad [101: 3], V. Vyxrušč [60: 3], L. Vyšeslavs'kyj [42: 3], and V. Zatulyviter [56: 3].

Prose works were also announced and reviewed frequently. Authors discussed were: K. Basenko [81: 3], V. Bezorud'ko [93: 3], B. Bojko [95: 2], L. Brazov [54: 3], O. Bylinov [50: 3], Ju. Čornyj-Didenko [37: 3], O. Čornohuz [98: 3], P. Cokota [38: 2], L. Dmyterko [4: 3], I. Dolhoš [95: 3], I. Falikman [68: 3], O. Hyža [37: 3], L. Horlač [27: 3], P. Kočura [21: 3], V. Malec' [10: 2], F. Morhun [55: 4], V. Myzynec' [43: 3], M. Novykova [47: 3], N. Okolitenko [75: 2], O. Orlovs'kyj [50: 3], S. Pan'ko [27: 3], N. Petrenko [3: 3], I. Pil'huk [38: 2], V. Romanenko [43: 2], M. Šapošnyk [38: 2], Ju. Šovkopljas [99: 2], I. Soldatenko [44: 3], Ja. Stecjuk [94: 3], L. Stojanov [34: 4], M. Strokovs'kyj [13: 2, 17: 2], M. Sumyšyn [36: 3], K. Svitlyčnyj [58: 3], H. Synel'nykov [10: 3], L. Tendjuk [8: 3], O. Vasyl'kivs'kyj [45: 3], I. Vlasenko [51: 3], and M. Janovs'kyj [3: 2].

Biographies of writers and literati appeared in the series "Lives of the Famous," published by "Molod'" press. Participants in the discussion were V. Majorov [28: 4], S. Šaxovs'kyj [34: 3-4], an anonymous "ohljadač" (reviewer) [40: 1-3], I. Sas [52: 3] and I. Il'jenko who recanted "mistakes" in some of his work [60: 3]. A proposition by T. Rybas [62: 4] that a series on "Lives of Activists in Socialist Industry" be published elicited other biographical articles [65: 4, 67: 2, 78: 2].

The recantation by I. Il'jenko was only one example of this "genre." Also published were accusations and accompanying recantations and self-criticism by B. Antonenko-Davydovyč (for his contacts with non-Soviet Ukrainians) [54: 4], I. Bilyk (for his novel *Meč Areja*) [40: 1-3], I. Dzjuba (statement and recantation) [88: 4], Je. Hucalo (for his tale *Dvoje na svjati koxannja*) [61: 3], B. Xarčuk (for "mistakes" in his works for children) [78: 3; 99: 3, 102: 4], and V. Jaremenko (who recanted his introduction to a volume of works by O. Oles') [75: 3].

Western Sovietologists, "enemies of peace" and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists were also chastised. Authors of such articles included Ja. Cehel'nyk [8: 3], T. Denysova [32: 3-4], K. Dmytruk [96: 2], I. Hryšyn-Hryščuk [67: 4], B. Minčyn [71: 3], O. Nosenko [66: 4, 72: 4, 89: 4, 97: 4], Ju. Smolyč [82: 4], and A. Kabajda [85: 4].

Journals and publishing houses discussed were *Dnipro* [22: 4, 42: 1, 69: 3, 74: 2], *Donbas* [70: 3, 76: 4], *Literaturnoe obozrenie* [16: 3], "Molod'" [63: 1, 92: 1], *Prapor* [60: 3], "Radjans'kyj pys'mennyk" [22: 2], *Suzir'ja* [16: 3], *Vitčyzna* [14: 3, 46: 3], and *Vsesvit* [37: 3, 48: 3].

The activities of literary organizations which the journal covered were the Fourth Plenary Session of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union [23: 1-4];

meetings of the union's presidium [9: 1, 21: 1, 29: 1, 37: 3, 46: 2, 62: 1, 78: 2, 98: 3]; meetings of its party committee [27: 1, 34: 2, 96: 1-2]; meetings of the directorate of the union's Kiev branch and its party meetings [11: 1, 71: 1, 77: 1, 86: 2, 95: 1, 96: 1-2]; meetings of separate committees within the writers union [10: 3, 40: 1, 45: 3, 97: 1]; meetings of the local literary unions and organizations of Dnipropetrovs'k [50: 2, 98: 3], Xarkiv and Donec'k [77: 1], Lubny [84: 3], L'viv, Donec'k, Xerson, and Vorošylovhrad [86: 2], Zakarpattja [100: 3], Horlivka [102: 2], Uman' [100: 4, 103: 3], Kryvyj Rih [39: 2], Stryj [39: 2], Xarkiv [43: 2], Ivano-Frankivs'k [48: 3], Xerson [48: 3], Crimea [48: 3, 49: 2], and Kirovohrad [50: 2]. Also published were an item on the Plenary Session of the USSR Writers' Union [24: 1] and a review of the discussions conducted at the plenary sessions of the USSR and Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union [40: 1-3]. Another item covered the joint meetings of artists' unions of the Soviet Ukraine [41: 1-3].

An article on general problems of translation was contributed by V. Korotyč, Ju. Lisnjak and B. Savčenko [66: 3]. Reviewed were V. Koptilov's *Peršotvir i pereklad* [7: 4] and O. Kundzič's *Tvorči problemy perekladu* [102: 3]. Two articles critically evaluated the quality of Ukrainian translations [32: 3, 67: 3], whereas six focused on the work of translators Je. Drob'jazko [69: 2], S. Kovhanjuk [20: 2], B. Ten [20: 2, 98: 4] and M. Tereščenko [16: 2, 72: 2].

Discussions of international literary relations included the Abkhasian-Ukrainian [46: 4], Armenian-Ukrainian [42: 3, 78: 4, 79: 1-4, 80: 1-2, 81: 1-2, 82: 1], Belorussian-Ukrainian [6: 4, 7: 4, 17: 3], Georgian-Ukrainian [30: 4], Kazakh-Ukrainian [84: 3], French-Ukrainian [49: 4], Bulgarian-Soviet [20: 4], and Soviet-Hungarian [68: 3]. Also published were notices about the Fifth Conference of Asian and African Writers, held in Alma Ata [70: 1, 70: 4, 71: 1].

Items dealing with classical literature were reviews of M. Bilyk's translation of the *Aeneid* [75: 4], H. N. Pidlisna's textbook *Istorija antyčnoji literatury* [29: 3], and B. Ten's translation of the *Illiad* [28: 4].

The "Soviet" literature of the peoples of the USSR was the subject of reports on the "Days of Soviet Literature in Odessa" [41: 1, 43: 1, 44: 1-2], school problems [97: 2], the cooperation of Russian writers with those of the other Soviet republics [37: 2], and three other items [42: 3, 46: 1, 72: 1]. Slavic literature was discussed in a review of the anthology *Slov"jans'ke nebo* [27: 3].

Other literatures were also covered, often in articles on individual authors or groups of writers: Austrian literature in a note on K. E. Franzos [25: 4]; Australian literature in a note on K. S. Pritchard [80: 4, 96: 4]; Azerbaijanian literature in notes on I. Nasimi [48: 1, 71: 4]; and American literature in notes on W. Faulkner [28: 3], F. S. Fitzgerald [67: 4], and M. Puzo and his *Godfather* [102: 3]. American literature was the topic of yet another article, on "progressive writers in the U.S." [48: 1, 4]. Articles on English literature covered its "ideological battles in literature and criticism" [97: 3], and noted writers J. Aldridge [41: 4] and J. Adamson [97: 4]. African literature was discussed in an item on P. Abrahams [33: 4] and in another on the literature of African Guinea-Bissau [101: 4]. The Belorussian [50: 2] and Bulgarian [40: 4, 49: 4, 80: 4] literatures were discussed generally, and several authors specifically: X. Botev [7: 4, 42: 4], H. Džagarov [28: 3], B. Dimitrova [33: 3], X. Smir-

nenski [77: 2], and L. Stojanov [30: 4]. Also commented on were Vietnamese literature [38: 4], Armenian literature [84: 4, 89: 3], and the Armenian writers A. Hrasi [36: 4] and H. Sarian [2: 4].

The newspaper's discussion of world literatures also included mention of the following: Georgian—H. Pandžykidze [35: 3] and H. Tabidze [86: 4]; Dagestani—R. Hamzatov [71: 3]; Indian—R. Tagore [96: 3]; Irish—B. Bien [93: 4]; Italian—S. Ceccherini [77: 3]; Kalmyk—V. Skorobohatov [96: 4]; Korean [46: 4]; Moldavian—L. Deljanu [72: 3] and H. Vieru [28: 3]; German —B. Brecht [12: 4], H. Heine [45: 3], E.M. Remarque [50: 4], and P. Felkel [47: 3]; Ossetian [34: 4]; Polish—W. Broniewski [3: 4], Ja. Koprowski [37: 4], Je. Litwiniuk [1: 4], A. Mickiewicz [101: 4], Ju. Słowacki [61: 4], W. Strzelecki [97: 4], and K.A. Jaworski [2: 4].

Russian literature was covered both in general items [4: 4, 28: 3] and in specific ones, on D. Bednyj [28: 4], V.H. Belinskij [45: 1], V.D. Bonč-Bruevič [53: 4], V. Brjusov [98: 4], A. Čexov [47: 4], O. Forš [40: 4], N. Gogol' [56: 3], O.M. Gor'kij [24: 4, 42: 4], M. Isakovskij [57: 2], V. Korolenko [60: 3], M. Lermontov [42: 3], V. Majakovskij [50: 4, 51: 2, 53: 2, 54: 2, 55: 1, 55: 3, 57: 1, 58: 3, 59: 4], O.M. Ostrovskij [27: 2, 28: 1-2, 29: 1, 33: 3, 93: 2], O. Puškin [40: 2, 41: 4, 44: 2], V. Šiškov [78: 3], and M. Šoloxov [73: 2, 80: 4].

Jewish literature was discussed in items on N. Lurje [75: 3] and M. Mohylevyč [44: 2]. Other literatures dealt with were those of Rumania—H. Zinke [43: 3]; Tadzhikstan—S. Aini [39: 4] and Ğelāl ad-Dīn Rūmi [99: 4]; Hungary—I. Madách [5: 4] and S. Petöfi [1: 4, 8: 1, 33: 4]; France—A. Barbusse [38: 4], Molière [13: 4], A. de Saint Exupery [10: 3], F. Villon [75: 3]; Croatia—P. Matvejevič [99: 4]; the Czechs—K. Čapek [61: 4], Ju. Fučik [18: 4], Ja. Hašek [37: 4], M. Pujmanova [44: 4], B. Vaclavek [27: 2]; and Chile—P. Neruda [76: 3] and poetry in general [33: 4].

Questions of language were treated broadly [24: 3, 90: 4, 98: 3] and in discussions of dictionaries [11: 4, 26: 4, 47: 4].

Items on scholarship included notices about a conference on typology and Slavic linguistic and literary interrelations held in Minsk [47: 3], a seminar on Bulgarian and Slavic studies held in Sofia [72: 2], and the Seventh International Congress of Slavists held in Warsaw [70: 2]. Of a similar nature were notices about Oriental studies at Kiev State University [27: 2] and a meeting of translators and Orientalists belonging to the Writers' Union [42: 3].

Folklore publications announced and reviewed were the collection *Ukrainskie narodnie dumy* [51: 3], a volume of Ukrainian fairy tales in German translation [50: 4], and the collections *Kolomyjky* [80: 3] and *Ukrajins'ki narodni pisni z Lemkivščyny* [4: 3]. Also published were articles on folklorists N. Prysjažnjuk [68: 4] and Je. Jarošyns'ka [97: 3].

Bookprinting was referred to in items on F. Skoryna [10: 2] and on the incunabula held by the Central Scientific Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences [14: 14].

Although newly published dramatic works were not mentioned, ongoing theatrical productions were noted. Announcements and reviews appeared on performances in Xarkiv [44: 4], L'viv [45: 2], and Kiev [46: 4, 48: 3], and on Moscow's "Malyj Teatr" performing in Kiev [45: 4]. Items dealing with the

cinema were otherwise limited to discussions of the film library of the Soviet Ukrainian Writers' Union [2: 3] and of the need to organize a film archive [26: 4]. Included was a review of a book on the filming of *Hajdamaky* [9: 4].

This survey has not included the original poetry, short stories, novellas, dramatic exerpts, journalistic sketches and reports which were published throughout 1973. Also excluded were items dealing with the activity of leading party members and the contributions published in the "Vesela pjatnycja" section devoted to humor.

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RADJANS'KE LITERATUROZNAVSTVO [Soviet literary scholarship]. Instytut literatury im. T. H. Ševčenka Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji URSR; Spilka pys'mennykiv Ukrajiny. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1973. 17th year of publication. Nos. 1-12, 96 pp. each. Ca. 1000 copies monthly.

The journal's discussion of the theory of literature dealt with party directives and ideology concerning the *narodnist'* of literature [1: 24-33], "progress" in literary activity [7: 16-26], "praise of the working-class as a primary aim of literature" [11: 14-27], artistic activity in the era of scientific and technological revolution [2: 59-68, 11: 46-60], and the interrelation between aesthetic theory and methods of criticism [3: 24-34]. The section's articles on poetics were devoted to metaphor [2: 83-87], the long poem [8: 44-49, 2: 88-89], Ukrainian versification [6: 87-89], drama [2: 25-35, 11: 86-88], and the novel [3: 61-66]. A review of work by the Russian theorist E. S. Gromov discussed the principles of aesthetics [1: 80-82], and an article on "directions and vogues in literature" dealt with the methods of literary scholarship [10: 27-39]. Related topics were discussed in articles on problems of literary analysis [1: 7-15, 5: 65-72, 6: 89-90].

Articles on the development or current state of Soviet literary scholarship did not appear. Editorials sought to equate publicistic work with literature as a means of mass education for communist society [3: 86-88, 4: 23-33, 6: 9-18, 10: 3-11, 10: 84-87; 11: 3-13, 12: 3-7, 12: 83-84]. Considerable space was taken up by polemics on "modernism" and "bourgeois literary scholarship" [1: 85-87, 6: 61-68, 9: 66-80, 10: 60-72].

Articles published in the "Chronicle" section provided a survey of current Soviet literary scholarship. Several items were on the activities of Soviet scholars and scholarly institutions. Included were reports on a forum of all-Soviet literary scholars [1: 92, 1: 93] and the organization and meetings of the Ševčenko Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR [2: 94, 8: 90-92]. The work of various departments of literature and of university conferences was also reported [4: 93-94, 8: 91-93, 10: 96, 11: 96, 12: 91]. Dissertations in literary scholarship and Ukrainian literary history accepted in 1972 were noted and discussed [2: 96]. Completing the section were

an item on the Donec'k Museum on Regional Literary Activity [10: 96] and brief notes on the literary scholars M. Hulak [4: 72-74], N. Krutikova [4: 25], P. Volyns'kyj [4: 95-96], O. Dejč [8: 96], L. Ivanov [1: 96], and O. Bilec'kyj (4: 95].

Early variants of Franko's poem "Pjanycja" were published under the heading of new publications [2: 72-76]. Other items in this section dealt with O. Kopylenko's radio scripts [5: 77-80]; M. Kuliš's film script *Paryžkom* [2: 69-72]; the collective pseudonym of A. Malyško, S. Voskrekasenko, and A. Šyjan [10: 80-83]; S. Rudans'kyj's autographs [5: 80-81]; the previously unknown autograph of Ševčenko's "Rano-vranci novobranci" found in V. Dal's archives [3: 58-60]; V. Stefanyk's archives [4: 80-83]; and Marko Vovčok's stay in St. Petersburg [7: 84-88]. Included were brief articles on Russian authors: one recounted O. Kuprin's work with the Kiev press [11: 81-85], another discussed the duel between Lermontov and Martynov [1: 68-77], and a third presented L. Tolstoj's attitudes toward H. Skovoroda [1: 78-79].

Only two articles were dedicated to Old Ukrainian literature: one to the *Igor' Tale* [7: 33-38], and another to Pamvo Berynda [1: 47-56]. The only other materials pertaining to the period were two reviews—one of Jadwiga Sokołowska, *Spory o barok: W poszukiwaniu modelu epoki* (Warsaw, 1971) [1: 87-90] and the other of L. Maxnovec', *Hryhorij Skovoroda* (Kiev, 1972) [6: 79-80]—and two notes about 250th anniversary conferences devoted to Skovoroda.

A variety of topics in Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was treated. Subjects discussed and books reviewed were the "Rus'ka Trijcja" [8: 88-89], Romanticism [7: 57-65, 7: 66-75], Ukrainian literature of Transcarpathia [2: 89-90], Ukrainian "critical realism" [2: 77-83] and comedy [12: 59-66], A. Kaspruk's *Ukrajins'ka poema kincja XIX-počatku XX st.* (Kiev, 1973) [7: 93-96]; and N. S. Nad"jarnix's *Tipologičeskie osobennosti realizma* (Moscow, 1972) [5: 85-88]. Items on Ukrainian writers of this period dealt with I. Franko [5: 35-42, 7: 60-63], M. Kocjubyns'kyj [2: 95, 6: 32-43, 8: 91], A. Kryms'kyj [12: 67-71), Ju. Kropyvnyc'kyj [2: 32-39], S. Rudans'kyj [5: 26-34], V. Stefanyk [3: 61-66, 9: 49-58], Lesja Ukrajinka [6: 19-31, 10: 95], T. Ševčenko [3: 47-57, 4: 40-54, 5: 95-96, 10: 49-59, 11: 61-72], and M. Komyšančenko's *Z istoriji ukrajins'koho ševčenkoznavstva* (Kiev, 1972) [7: 83-84].

Articles and notes on Soviet literature were of a programmatic and ideological nature [1: 34-40, 1: 91, 3: 92-96, 4: 94, 5: 3-8, 5: 17-25, 8: 3-17, 9: 3-14, 9: 15-28, 9: 29-30, 10: 40-48, 12: 8-15]. Several reviews of books on ideology were included [4: 88-89, 7: 89-91, 7: 91-93, 8: 87-88, 11: 84-86]. Articles devoted specifically to the "party-mindedness of criticism" appeared [1: 3-6; 11: 73-83], as did a critical discussion of V. Zaremba's *Ivan Manžura* (Kiev, 1972) [4: 75-79]. Authors H. Syvokin', A. Hordijenko, M. Il'nyc'kyj, and the fifth volume of the anthology *Literatura i sučasnist'* (Kiev, 1972) received extensive commentary [1: 83-85, 4: 85-88, 5: 82-84, 4: 84-85, respectively]. Contemporary Soviet prose was discussed in four items [3: 3-18, 4: 15-22, 5: 43-45, 12: 34-40].

Soviet Ukrainian writers and their works were the subject of a number of articles and reviews: Ja. Baš [7: 10-15], A. Holovko [12: 21-33], A. Kacnel'son [9: 88-90], V. Kozačenko [3: 19-23]; O. Kornijčuk [7: 3-9], M. Ryl's'kyj [6: 69-

74, 6: 86-88, 11: 93-94], V. Sosjura [1: 41-46], M. Stel'max [6: 54-60], P. Tyčyna [12: 87-89], P. Voron'ko [12: 16-20], O. Vyšnja [8: 33-43], and L. Zabašta [2: 17-24].

The journal allotted considerable space to discussion of Russian classic and contemporary literature and its authors: V. Brjusov [12: 41-46, 12: 47-51], O. Herzen [4: 34-39], N. Gogol' [9: 92-94], V. Kapnist [11: 28-36], A. Lunačarskij [12: 84-87], V. Majakovskij [7: 46-56, 9: 40-48], M. Nekrasov [5: 38-91], O. Ostrovskij [4: 55-68, 6: 95-96, 9: 96]; M. Pryšvin [2: 50-54, 2: 54-58]; O. Puškin [12: 95]; V. Tendrjakov [6: 44-53]; L. Tolstoj [10: 90-94], M. Ušakov [6: 3-8]. Two works on the history of Russian literature were reviewed [3: [3: 35-46, 8: 84-86], and an article attacking Western literary scholars for "falsifying" the history of Soviet Russian literature [5: 56-64] was included. The section on classical literature offered a review of H. N. Pidlisna's *Istorija antyčnoji literatury* (Kiev, 1972) [6: 90-92].

The section "Literatures of Other Peoples" covered a wide range of authors and topics. In American literature, these were E. Hemingway [2: 92-93] and S. Fitzgerald [10: 73-79]; in Austrian literature, E. Fischer [3: 90-92]; in Belorussian literature, problems of the contemporary novel [5: 90-91]; in Bulgarian literature, H. Dimitrov on literature [4: 89-92] and the poetry of 1923 [9: 59-65]; in Czech literature, K. Čapek [3: 88-90]; in English literature, J. Farker [2: 40-49]; in French literature, P. J. Beranger [6: 75-78] and Voltaire [6: 69-74]; in German literature, J. Rot [7: 64-72]; in Hungarian literature, S. Petőfi [1: 57-64, 6: 92-94, 9: 95-96] and F. Karikas [4: 69-74]; in Irish literature, J. M. Synge [7: 39-45]; in Nigerian literature, its prose [11: 94-95]; and in Polish literature, the works of L. Staff [2: 90-91].

Four general articles appeared in the section on translators and translations [3: 72-78, 3: 79-85, 6: 75-78, 9: 90-91], as did articles on three master translators into Ukrainian: P. Hrabovs'kyj [12: 74-76], I. Kulyk [7: 76-83] and M. Ryl's'kyj [6: 69-74]. Also discussed were the interrelations between Ukrainian literature and the literatures of Armenia [3: 79-85; 10: 87-90, 12: 90-91], Belorussia [1: 94], Georgia [3: 72-78, 12: 77-82], and Poland [6: 81-86].

Literary periodicals discussed were the Ukrainian republican journals *Prapor* [7: 13-32], *Vsesvit* [8: 93-94], and *Žovten'* [1: 16-23], and the newspaper *Literaturna Ukrajina* [6: 9-16]. The relevant section also contained an announcement about changes in the editorial board of *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo*, the most important of which was the replacement of I. Dzeverin by I. Bjelajev as editor-in-chief.

The journal's two articles on Slavic studies, by I. Bilodid [1: 65-67] and H. Verves [12: 52-58], both concerned the Seventh International Congress of Slavists.

The section on film and theater published articles on dramatic art [10: 12-26], the Polish theater [11: 89-92] and the cinema's relation to literature [3: 67-71, 3: 73-82].

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MOVOZNAVSTVO [Linguistics]. Viddil literatury, movy i mystectvoznavstva Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1973. Volume 7. Nos. 1-6. 96 pp. each. 4,300 copies bimonthly.[1]

Movoznavstvo began publication in 1967.[2] Through 1973 the journal's editorial board was comprised of the same thirteen members, headed by editor-in-chief I. Bilodid.[3] The six issues for 1973 contained 62 articles, 22 reviews, and 11 chronicle-type items.

The articles averaged nine pages in length and ranged between a 24-page contribution published in two instalments and a two-page personalia note. Of the journal's ten sections, "Problems in the contemporary life of the language" contained the greatest number of articles (28), followed by "To the Seventh International Congress of Slavists" (10), "Experimental phonetic studies" (4), "Historical studies" (6), "Stylistic devices in fiction" (5), and the five shorter sections.

The journal's several articles on general and structural linguistics drew to a considerable extent on contemporary Western scholarship [1: 16-24, 1: 25-30, 5: 44-46; and, based on Russian linguistic material, 4: 42-49]. Of particular note was H. Melika's universal interlinguistic phonetic description scheme, adapted and improved from G. Lindner's articulation analysis of German [1: 41-46]. Two other general articles dealt with popular etymology [2: 63-73] and internationalisms [5: 20-29].

Articles on languages other than Ukrainian included two each on Russian, English and German, and one each on French, Karakalpak and Kirghiz. In polemics on the nature of Slavic (i.e., South Slavic) East Romance (corresponding to present-day Rumanian and Moldavian) linguistic interaction, S. Semčyns'kyj refuted the arguments of some extreme "anti-Slavic" Rumanianists while raising, albeit apparently unintentionally, some notable points [3: 50-58]. He approvingly refers to the "intensification, in our time, of the process of the convergent development of languages, especially in the countries of Asia and Africa which have recently entered upon the path of independent develop-

1 The first issue in 1967 was printed in 4,317 copies. Subsequently, circulation fluctuated between 4,081 for 1967, no. 5; 5,239 for 1968, no. 3; 4, 189 for 1971, no. 4; 5,000 each for 1972, nos. 3-6; 3,000 each for 1974, nos. 4-6, and 1975, nos. 1-2.

2 See the extensive review of the first issue by H. Nakonečna: "Cinne vydannja," *Ukrajins'kyj samostijnyk*, April 1967, no. 116, pp. 31-40, and May, no. 117, pp. 29-40; and the critique of the volume for 1968 by G.Y. Shevelov, "Rik vydannja druhyj," *Sučasnist'*, 1969, no. 8, pp. 58-70. Two earlier publications by the same name appeared under the auspices of the Institute of Linguistics, of first the All-Ukrainian, then the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and finally the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The first *Movoznavstvo*, subtitled *Zbirnyk* [Collected papers], published 16 numbers (some in double issues) between 1934 and 1940; the second bore the subtitle (on volumes 1 and 2-3, the sole title) *Naukovi zapysky* [Proceedings] and published 18 volumes in 1941 and between 1946 and 1963. These publications are obviously not considered direct antecedents of the present *Movoznavstvo*, which is described as a journal (*žurnal*).

3 Since then, three members—V.S. Vaščenko, F.M. Medvedjev, and N. Čeburko—were replaced by P. Hryščenko, H.P. Jižakevyč (as of 1974, no. 1) and Ju.O. Žluktenko (as of 1977, no. 1).

ment" [p. 50], as well as to the fact that Soviet sociolinguistics "has considerably overtaken foreign linguistics ... in conscious regulation (*rehlamentacija*) of linguistic development" [p. 51]. However, he totally ignores the separation, by decree, of literary Moldavian from Rumanian (although the latter is the language of a country in the socialist camp), which has continued since the 1930s and runs contrary to the integration process that he believes to be the present trend. Semčyns'kyj does not attempt to show whether the linguistic interaction he describes or other factors contributed in any way to the purported present-day division between Rumanian and Moldavian. Nonetheless, in reporting on the October 1972, Kišinev conference on "The typology of similarities and differences in a group of closely related languages" [2: 94-95], he gives the following definition of the language as adopted by the conference: "Moldavian is an independent [*samostijna*]—in the sense of [having a] free, independent (*nezaležnoho*) functioning and development—language of the Moldavian socialist nation, which has a structure typical of any developed language of a nation ... ." (The definition seems to be an excellent example of circular reasoning.)

The majority of articles appearing in the journal dealt with Ukrainian topics, either exclusively or within a comparative framework. Presumably, the articles which the editors deemed to be most significant appeared first in each issue. Four of the five authors of these "leading" articles were, in fact, members of the editorial board. The editor-in-chief, academician I. Bilodid, contributed an article on "Language and ideological struggle" [5: 3-19]. This work, as well as Bilodid's other extensive writings on sociolinguistics and the now considerable body of Soviet literature on the subject, deserve close examination, but only a few points can be mentioned here. The article contains the familiar statement that "Ukrainian ... has become ... the language of the functioning of the state organization, the language of scholarship, education and culture" [p. 7]. This is qualified, however, by the assertion that Russian has become "the second native language" of the peoples of the USSR,[4] and that a "harmonious bilingualism (*dvomovnist'*), i.e., a free parallel use" of the native tongue and Russian, has established itself. Bilodid writes that "this character of bilingualism (*bilinhvizm*) insures the use of both languages in all spheres of life—in the state-political and industrial ones, in scholarship, education, culture and everyday life" [p. 8]. (Semčyns'kyj assumes, and illustrates with many examples, that "under conditions of mass bilingualism" one language will always be victorious over the other [3: 57], a conclusion not yet reached by Bilodid.) The bilingualism of higher education, in particular, is explained (possibly for the first time in a Kiev publication) as "proceeding from the fact that higher educational establishments in the Ukrainian SSR prepare cadres for the whole Soviet Union and for some foreign countries [and therefore] the teaching in these establishments is conducted, depending on the sphere of activity of future graduates, their composition, etc., both in Ukrainian and in Russian" [5: 15]. (Some quantification of these causes and effects would, of course, be desirable.) Bilodid expressly accuses "the practice of the so-called 'mass' Ukrainization

[4] The phrase was discarded a few years ago, but has since been reintroduced —possibly in June 1973 by V. Malančuk, whom H. Jižakevyč quotes [6: 4].

[of the 1920s and early 1930s] of the population of the Ukrainian SSR and of the Ukrainian population in the territory of other republics of the USSR" of having "tendentious distortions." He states that Ukrainization disregarded the presence of other nationalities in the Ukraine and "the practice of parallel use of Ukrainian and Russian which had formed in the Ukraine long ago (*z davnix časiv*)" [pp. 7-8]. Bilodid does not say what particular wrongs Ukrainization inflicted upon Ukrainians in other republics of the USSR, nor does he mention whether they now have schools with instruction in Ukrainian, comparable, for instance, to "the schools with instruction in Russian, Moldavian, Hungarian and Polish" which exist in the Ukraine [p. 15].

H. Jižakevyč, a new member of the editorial board, writes on the Soviet peoples' common vocabulary [6: 3-14]. The thesis of mutual enrichment is supported by lists of internationalisms and Russianisms in political, social, industrial, cultural and everyday vocabulary that have penetrated into the non-Russian languages, and by lists of the much rarer, exotic words from non-Russian languages found in Russian. These clearly show that the essential traffic is one way, only. The Soviet peoples' common vocabulary is, however, further enlarged by "geographic names borrowed from national languages" [p. 11].[5] Moreover, this linguistic interchange predates Soviet times: "There is a long tradition of the use of Russian as a means of communion (*spilkuvannja*) among the peoples of Russia speaking various languages who even before October strove towards mastering it [i.e., Russian] as towards light which carries knowledge." Ms. Jižakevyč substantiates this statement by a reference to a pre-Revolutionary authority who is said to "note 'a thirst for the knowledge of Russian' characteristic of the Caucasian peoples, especially the Ingushi [*sic*]" [p. 4].[6]

[5] One could just as seriously speak of a considerable enrichment of English and other languages by Vietnamese geographic names during 1975.

[6] N. Grabovskij, *Sbornik svedenij o kavkazskix narodax*, vol. 9 (Tiflis, 1876), p. 29. In fact, Jižakevyč gives an imprecise source reference: Grabovskij's name does not appear on the title page of the *Sbornik*, since he was only one of its several contributors. She also slightly misquotes and abridges the title, which in fact reads as follows: *Sbornik svedenij o kavkazskix gorcax izdavaemyj s soizvolenija Ego Imperatorskogo Vysočestva Glavnokomandujuščego Kavkazskoju armieju pri Kavkazskom gorskom upravlenii.* Moreover, Ms. Jižakevyč completely distorts Grabovskij's opinion of the Caucasian peoples at large, since he in fact wrote (p. 28 of his article): "The strongest and materially richest tribes populating the Terskaja region persist in their ignorance and strictly follow their ancient customs prohibiting them to borrow anything from the hated *giaours*." He notes that "the Ingushi present a completely opposite phenomenon. This people, being in the course of many years in constant and close contact with Russians and chiefly in the vicinity of the most intelligent point of the region, the town of Vladikavkaz, has adopted needs which are gratifying for the future." (N. F. Grabovskij was justice of the peace for the Terskaja region and in the 1870s contributed to both the *Sbornik* and *Terskie vedomosti.*) Ms. Jižakevyč fails to take note of much better proof for a similar phenomenon which was observed among Poles in nineteenth-century Russia: soon after the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1863-64, a governmental commission reported that "The peasants learn Russian with obvious willingness .... No national prejudice against Russian can be noticed among the peasants, on the contrary, bewilderment is caused when documents in Polish are received by the district offices from various administrative authorities" (I. S. Aksakov, "O prepodavanii russkogo jazyka v školax Carstva pol'skogo," in his *Sočinenija*, vol. 3 [Moscow, 1886], p. 454).

M. Žovtobrjux examines the data of *Atlas ukrajins'koji movy* (*AUM*) in order to attribute the basis of literary Ukrainian to a definite dialectal area [1: 3-14]. He denies the importance of the southwestern dialects in the formation of the literary language, and concludes that it is based on the southeastern dialects at large. The data from *AUM* presented here are of particular interest while the work remains unpublished.

L. Palamarčuk discusses the principles and difficulties, familiar to lexicographers, of word selection for a dictionary [3: 3-11]. V. Kolomijec' (the only "leading" author not on the editorial board) publishes the paper she presented at the Seventh International Congress of Slavists on the formation of postwar neologisms in the Slavic languages [2: 3-18, 4: 3-10], which is a condensation of her monograph on the subject [reviewed 3: 88-91]. In assembling and analyzing thousands of neologisms, she has found that many in other Slavic languages are either calques or borrowings from Russian, but some were subsequently discarded in favor of native formations. One etymological curiosity is worthy of special note. The author assumes that Czech *lunik* and Bulgarian *lunnik* come from Russian [2: 4]. The Bulgarian word may well be such a borrowing (although this has yet to be proved), but the Russian *lunnik* itself is, in fact, a borrowing from the West, since it was coined by an English-speaking newsman in the form "lunik." The word can well be regarded as non-Russian, especially in view of its single *n*, like "beatnik," "peacenik," or other American neologisms with the *-nik* suffix. The form of the Czech word, too, strongly suggests direct borrowing from a Western source. (An East German author quoted by Bilodid [5: 11-12] apparently detects anti-Soviet propaganda in the *-nik* suffix of "peacenik.")

Several historical studies are noteworthy. O. Stryžak [1: 64-76] convincingly adduces a wealth of fascinating evidence in support of his theory that the *siverjany*, the *sîver"* (N.B. the singular form) tribe of the chronicles, are not "the Northerners" but came from the Danube area. There they, formerly known as Savir or Suvar, had been assimilated by the local Slavs, much like their close kinsmen, the Protobulgars, who reached the Balkans by a similar route somewhat later, were to be assimilated soon after them. I. Željeznjak [1: 77-82] daringly suggests the pre-Celtic **suba* "ditch, etc.," found in French toponymy and transmitted, according to his theory, by the Celts to the Slavs, as the origin of the Ukrainian river names Suba, Subot (hence the village name of Subotiv). L. Masenko [1: 83-85] defends the Ukrainian spelling of the name of several rivers and places as "Jalánec'" against the Russian-style incorrect form "Jelanec'," and offers a Turkic etymology (Old Turkic *alaŋ* "flat, even [locality]"). I. Dobrodomov collects evidence for East Slavic *korx* and also offers a Turkic etymology (Old Turkic *qaryš*) [5: 67-70].

O. Ponomariv has produced an interesting collection of specifically Ukrainian vocabulary of Greek origin [5: 60-66]. Another valuable, and complementary, article on Greek elements in Ukrainian is by A. Krytenko [2: 28-35], who stresses the fact that Ukrainian seventeenth-century sources contain certain Greek (and Latin) words which did not appear in Russian texts until the reign of Peter I.[7] H. Čemerys offers a solid systematization of verbal derivation

[7] Among his sources Ponomariv gives the full title of Je. Tymčenko's typescript

from nouns [6: 26-33]. Je. Napadij orders and clarifies the considerable number of anthroponyms in -*ęt- with their multifarious toponymic and other derivatives, which V. Horpynyč does for names of inhabitants derived from toponyms [3: 72-87]. A. Nepokupnyj continues his research into West Baltic and East Slavonic contacts and parallels from sixteenth-century sources [4: 21-29], finding the Jatviagian ethnonym "Dainava" in the toponyms Denow/Danowa in Galicia [pp. 26-27]. I. Stojanov has examined volume 1 (A-Z) of *Bŭlgarski etimologičen rečnik* (Sofia, 1971), and supplies four full pages of East Slavic parallels missing in volume 1 of the Bulgarian etymological dictionary under the corresponding Bulgarian words [4: 11-20]. He also mentions other etymological dictionaries, both existing and in preparation, including the Ukrainian one by O. Mel'nyčuk and the Belorussian one in the process of compilation. In a well-documented study, V. Skljarenko discloses regularities in the shift of stress in abstract nouns in *-nnja*, *-ttja* since the late sixteenth century [4: 34-41].

V. Levyc'kyj publishes the results of his experimental research into the phonetic symbolism attached to Ukrainian vowels and consonants [2: 36-49]. S. Kolymba studies the intonation patterns of emotionally charged speech with the aid of electroacoustic analysis [2: 57-62]. I. Matvijas traces the genesis of nominal paradigms in literary Ukrainian, quoting data from the maps of the unpublished *AUM*, volume 1 [2: 19-27]. L. Mojsjejeva has gathered many unusual bird names derived from adjectives (many of which are, in turn, derived from nouns) in Russian dialects in order to study their formation patterns, and cites a good number of Ukrainian parallels [6: 34-41]. S. Ryzvanjuk's "Ukrainian in Argentina" [5: 30-35] is the only article on Ukrainian outside the Ukraine; the author notes numerous Spanish loanwords in the language of the two newspapers *Ukrajins'ka robitnyča hazeta* (1930-32) and *Svitlo* (1946-47), and concludes that "deviations from the literary norm do not in any case mean a 'bad' command of Ukrainian, but are caused by social conditions under which Ukrainian functions in the territory of Argentina" [p. 35].

Among five articles devoted to literary stylistics, one by V. Drozdovs'kyj is worthy of note [4: 70-76]; it details the evolution of Kocjubyns'kyj's style in

"Materialy dlja slovarja pis'mennoj i knižnoj južnorusskoj reči XV-XVIII vv." [5: 60]; Krytenko also cites the work [2: 32-33]. Apparently it extends over the rest of the alphabet, beyond Tymčenko's *Istoryčnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koho jazyka*, vol. 1 (Xarkiv and Kiev, 1930-32), covering A-Ž, the only volume to be published. In his obituary of Tymčenko, the late L. Bulaxovs'kyj mentions (*Movoznavstvo*, vol. 6, 1948) that in the early 1930s vol. 3 [*sic*] of Tymčenko's *Istoryčnyj slovnyk* was also completely ready to be printed, but he does not say what happened to it, and it is unclear in what relation it stands to "Materialy." Bulaxovs'kyj also mentions that in 1944-48 Tymčenko "was putting in order the card index of his 'Historical Dictionary of Ukrainian' wrecked by the German fascist barbarians during their temporary occupation of Kiev." It was announced in 1947 (*Movoznavstvo*, vol. 4-5, p. 281) that after the ordering and supplementing of the card index had been completed, the actual compilation of the dictionary would begin in the second half of 1948 and take two and a half years. Tymčenko's death on 22 May 1948 must have meant a near-fatal setback to the project. The currently published *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy XIV-XV stolit'*, ed. D. Hrynčyšyn et al., vol. 1 (Kiev, 1977) (vol. 2 in press), unlike Tymčenko's "Materialy," does not cover the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

the opening part of *Fata morgana* from his manuscript variants to the final text. In an appreciation of the contribution of B. Larin (1893-1964) to Ukrainian linguistics, P. Pljušč mentions his article, "Movnyj pobut mista,"[8] based chiefly on Ukrainian material, which should be of certain interest today [5: 80-81].

Movoznavtvo for 1973 carried reviews of sixteen books published in the USSR (ten in the Ukraine) and six in the European socialist countries. One of the two books on Russian reviewed was F. Sergeev, *Russkaja diplomatičeskaja terminologija XI-XVII vv.* (Kišinev, 1971), which includes Ukrainian data from Berynda and *Synonima slavenorosskaja* [4: 92-93]. Other works reviewed were two books on German and one on Belorussian phraseology, one on Serbo-Croatian toponymy, volume 3 of the Latvian Frequency Dictionary, volume 2 of the Atlas of Hungarian Dialects, and the first systematic grammar of Upper Lusatian written in Upper Lusatian, by H. Ševc. A. O. Bilec'kyj's work on theoretical onomastics, *Leksikologija i teorija jazykoznanija: Onomastika* (Kiev, 1972), deserves attention [5: 90-93].[9] P. Čučka reviews the latest orthography of the Bačka language (Bačvansko-ruska beseda), M. M. Kočyš's *Pravopys ruskoho jazyka* (Novi Sad, 1971), and briefly surveys the history of that language [1: 86-89]. M. Žovtobrjux and Ja. Sprynčak review in detail F. Filin's important work, *Proisxoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov* (Leningrad, 1972) [2: 80-85]. Also notable is L. Humec'ka's review of Z. Stieber, *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich*, 2 parts (Warsaw, 1969-71) [4: 83-88]. Reviewers devoted some attention to seven items in the Ukrainian field, among them L. Skrypnyk, *Frazeolohija ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1973) [3: 91-94], V. Rusanivs'kyj, *Struktura ukrajins'koho dijeslova* (Kiev, 1971) [6: 79-81], and *Inversijnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*, ed. S. Bevzenko, part 1 (Odessa, 1971) [2: 88-89].[10]

The "Chronicle" section contains reports on various events and activities. In the progress report of the Institute of Linguistics [3: 95-96], one learns that the 1971 trial fascicle of the Frequency Dictionary of Ukrainian (*Častotnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*) has been approved, although the anticipated publication date of the complete work is not given. In January 1973, a frankly critical discussion of *Slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy*, volumes 1-3, took place at the institute [4: 94-95]. In October 1972, a Skovoroda anniversary conference was held in Xarkiv in which several papers on his language were presented [2: 92-93], and a conference in Užhorod discussed the culture (including language) and life of Ukrainian Carpathians [2: 95-96]. There are reports [1: 93-95, 5: 94-95] about two annual international meetings of the General Slavic Atlas Committee: in May-June 1972 in Minsk, and in May 1973 in

[8] *Červonyj šljax*, 1928, nos. 5-6; reprinted with some changes in Russian as "K lingvističeskoj xarakteristike goroda," *Izvestija Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta im. A. I. Gercena*, 1928, no. 1.

[9] The wide variety of specific cases studied includes Crimean toponyms (Beleckij, *Leksikologija*, pp. 69-71, 81-82, 87, 110).

[10] Reviewers Je. Rehuševs'kyj and V. Černec'kyj maintain that this is the first *a tergo* dictionary in Ukrainian. In fact, the first such work to be published was V. Nin'ovs'kyj, *Ukrajins'kyj zvorotnyj slovnyk* (Edmonton, 1969); the editors of *Movoznavstvo* (if not the two reviewers themselves, who live in Kirovohrad) should have known of its existence, if only from a review in *Československá rusistika* 17 (1972): 192, a journal which presumably reaches Kiev.

Czechoslovakia (although the Committee meets in rotation in the Slavic countries, none of the fifteen meetings held by 1974 took place in the Ukraine). It was noted with some alarm that over 30 percent of localities in the Ukraine had still not been investigated for the General Slavic Linguistic Atlas.[11] Finally, a joint report by five Soviet Ukrainian participants in the Seventh Slavists' Congress appeared [6: 89-92].

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UKRAJINS'KYJ ISTORYK [The Ukrainian historian]. Ukrainian Historical Association. New York and Munich, 1973. Nos. 1-2 (37-38), 168 pp. Nos. 3-4 (39-40), 198 pp.

In 1973 *Ukrajins'kyj istoryk* marked its tenth anniversary. In the words of its editor, Lubomyr Wynar, the goal of "this only Ukrainian historical journal beyond the borders of the Ukraine" is to preserve and foster the traditions of Ukrainian national scholarship. Considering the difficulties involved in publishing a scholarly, Ukrainian-language periodical abroad, the journal's achievements have been notable: in the course of a decade, 36 issues have published 221 articles and 271 reviews, totaling 2,550 pages. Contributors have included the leading Ukrainian historians Alexander Ohloblyn, Natalia Polons'ka-Vasylenko, Nicholas Chubaty, Omeljan Pritsak, and Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky. Ukrainian scholars prominent in other fields, including Jaroslav Pasternak, Volodymyr Kubijovyč, and Illia Vytanovych, have also been contributors. For a decade, therefore, this publication has served as a forum for Ukrainian émigré scholarship.

The two issues of the journal that appeared in 1973 commemorated, respectively, the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in L'viv [nos. 1-2 (37-38)] and the tenth anniversary of the journal [nos. 3-4 (39-40)]. The commemoration of these events reflects one of the characteristics of the journal—that is, its focus on the development of Ukrainian historical scholarship. Included in the first issue is a study by V. Kubijovyč which relates, on the basis of firsthand knowledge, the fate of the Shevchenko Scientific Society during the 1939-52 period [1-2: 8-42]. In a concise, detailed, and informative manner, the author discusses the final years of the society's existence in L'viv and its reactivization and reorganization during the first years after emigration to Germany. Jurij Gerych examines the early statutes of the society, thus elucidating its early history and organization [1-2: 43-64]. Insight into how the society facilitated research and trained young scholars may be gleaned from Aleksander Dombrowsky's memoir of his participation in the seminar in Ukrainian history conducted by Ivan Kryp"jakevyč in the 1930s [1-2: 119-129].

The second issue contains the editor's retrospective view of the motives which led to the founding of the journal, the circumstances in which it began

[11] Reduced to 4 percent by early 1977, when it was reported that the Ukrainian part of volume 1 was being prepared to go to press.

to function, the nature of its contents, a listing of contributors and supporters, and, finally, a statement of plans and prospects [3-4: 5-28]. An article by A. Dombrowsky deals with a major focus of the journal by surveying its numerous studies on Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj [3-4: 29-37]. The issue also contains contributions to Ukrainian historical scholarship, such as N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko's note on A. Kryms'kyj's history of the Khazars [3-4: 142-145] and V. Mijakovsky's publication of the letters of S. O. Jefremov to E. K. Čykalenko [3-4: 146-156].

The other articles published in 1973 concern the history of the Ukraine from the earliest to modern times. A posthumously published, two-part study by the noted archeologist Ja. Pasternak is an erudite discussion of the many theories on the origins of the Slavs, with much bibliographical information and a survey of pertinent sources [1-2: 88-106, 3-4: 69-83]. A brief article by Mykola Andrusiak critically reviews some theories of Russian and Soviet scholars on the early phases of the organization of Kievan Rus', specifically its relations with the so-called Azov Rus' [1-2: 65-71]. A two-part article by Bohdan Wynar analyzes the socioeconomic structure of Kievan Rus', with emphasis on the agrarian aspects of its economy, and provides a useful survey of bibliography and sources [1-2: 72-87, 3-4: 84-112]. Mykhailo Zdan ventures into the arena of relations between the House of Roman of Galicia-Volhynia and the Teutonic Order; his analysis, based on primary sources, concludes that each side considered the other a natural ally [3-4: 54-68]. Omeljan Pritsak's summary of current knowledge about the Polovcians brings together rare information about the military and political organization of this nomad people, thus shedding light on the context in which Kievan society existed [1-2: 112-18].

Four articles are devoted to the Cossack period. Alexander Baran investigates, on the basis of Latin and Hungarian materials, the little-known episode of the Ukrainian Cossacks' participation in the anti-Hapsburg uprising of the Kurucz in 1676-78 [1-2: 107-111]. In a similar vein, Theodore Mackiw examines the diplomatic contacts of the Hapsburg Court with Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj [3-4: 127-32]. A crucial problem in the history of Ukrainian Cossack elite was its struggle to gain patents of nobility in the Russian Empire: the topic is treated by V. Seniutovych-Bereznyi, although, due to lack of sources, little is added to our understanding of the problem [3-4: 133-41]. Related to the topic of Cossackdom is L. Wynar's excursus into the auxiliary discipline of sphragistics: the author examines I. Kryp"jakevyč's scholarly work on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century seals of the Zaporozhian Host [1-2: 139-47].

With the exception of a short excerpt from M. Vasylenko's memoirs dealing with his arrest in 1905 [1-2: 131-38], articles dealing with the modern period appear in the second issue. A. Ohloblyn examines Taras Ševčenko's contacts with the Ukrainian elite of the Left Bank [3-4: 38-53]; rather than adhering to the traditional tendency of viewing the poet's contacts with Ukrainians in terms of serfs and with Russians in terms of the upper classes, the author convincingly argues for the importance of Ševčenko's association with the great Ukrainian families of the Left Bank. Another original contribution is I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky's résumé of his lecture on I. V. Terlec'kyj, a significant but unstudied figure in the intellectual, religious, and political history of the West Ukrainian lands in the mid-nineteenth century [3-4: 157-60]. The recollec-

tions of Borys Martos, the last surviving leader of the Ukrainian Revolution, deal with the early days of the Central Rada [3-4: 99-112]. And, finally, Lew Shankowsky presents a section of his survey of Ukrainian military historiography which gives a detailed, statistical analysis of articles appearing in 1921-39 [3-4: 113-26]. The second issue of the journal for 1973 concludes with a bibliography of materials published by the journal in its ten years of existence [3-4: 174-94].

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UKRAJINS'KYJ ISTORYČNYJ ŽURNAL [Ukrainian historical journal]. Instytut istoriji Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR. Instytut partiji CK KP Ukrajiny, filial Instytutu Marksyzmu-Leninizmu CK KPRS. Nos. 1 (142)-12 (153), 160 pp. each. Ca. 8,900 copies monthly.

The journal was established in July 1957. Its characteristics are given by Orest Subtelny in *Recenzija: A Review of Soviet Scholarly Publications* (1 [1970]: 38-48), based on an analysis of the set for 1969. A complex index to the twelve issues for 1973 appears in no. 12 (pp. 149-60).

Throughout 1973 the editorial board was comprised of Pavlo Myxajlovyč Kalenyčenko, editor-in-chief; M. V. Koval' and I. I. Kolomyjčenko, associate editors; I. V. Lupandin, secretary; Ju. V. Babko, M. R. Donij, V. A. Žebokryc'kyj, M. F. Kotljar, M. I. Krjačok, M. N. Leščenko, V. M. Nem'jatyj, A. V. Sancevyč, V. A. Čyrko, F. P. Ševčenko, A. M. Šlepakov, P. M. Šmorhun, members.

In 1973, *UIŽ* published two articles on the theory of history,[1] and two on the history of historical scholarship.[2] Of the several articles on historiography, two dealt with non-Soviet ("bourgeois-nationalist") historians: one with the period from the ninth to fifteenth century,[3] and one with pre-revolutionary works on the history of factories.[4] The others presented the state of Soviet historiography on several historical questions: the form of land-rent in the

[1] V. V. Kosolapov, "Inquiry into historical research [empirical and theoretical]," 9: 40-49; I. S. Dzjubko, I. H. Nakonečnyj, "On a systematic approach to the classification of regularities in the development of a world socialist system," 12: 50-60.

[2] V. M. Xolevčuk, "The development of scholarship in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in the period of Communist construction," 11: 74-84; M. K. Ivasjuta, H. J. Ihnatčenko, F. P. Pohrebnyk, "On the 100th anniversary of the founding in L'viv of the Shevchenko Scientific Society," 11: 84-91.

[3] M. F. Kotljar, "Against the bourgeois nationalist misinterpretation of the common historical past of the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples in the 9th-15th c.," 8: 3-14.

[4] M. V. Riznyc'ka, "The historiographic importance of publications on the history of the factories and industrial plants of the Ukraine," 12: 119-26.

fifteenth-sixteenth centuries,[5] the revolutionary events of 1848,[6] the revolutionary agrarian transformations in 1917-21,[7] the Red Army in 1917-28,[8] the Communist uprising in Kiev in January 1918,[9] the influence of the October Revolution on Transcarpathia in 1917-19,[10] historical problems in the Bolshevik press in 1922,[11] the creation of the Ukrainian SSR,[12] the activity of workers during the second *pjatiletka*,[13] the role of the Communist Party in the period of "the building of Communism" (1950-1970),[14] and the history of L'viv oblast'.[15]

Three articles were devoted to Lenin's national question [I. M. Varzar, 1: 13-24; P. M. Šmorhun, 4: 25-36; I. P. Kožukalo, 11: 3-14]; one to Lenin's plan for socialist construction [M. S. Žuravl'ov and M. V. Černenko, 4: 3-14]; and another to Lenin's work, *New economic movements in the life of peasants* [A. Z. Baraboj, 3: 56-63]. An article by V. I. Turajev, B. O. Hus'kevyč and V. O. Ivanova criticized modern (1969-72) revisionist misinterpretations of Lenin's teachings about the party [2: 26-34].

One article traced the fate of M. A. Markevyč's library,[16] and another dealt with the creation of book depositories in the Ukraine during 1917-20.[17] Only two source studies appeared, both dealing with modern times.[18]

Of the six memoirs published, four concern partisan activity during the Second World War: in Transcarpathia [9: 110-15], Volhynia 1943/44 [11: 123-

[5] D. L. Poxylevyč, "The form of land rent and the extent of the exploitation of the peasants of the Ukraine and Belorussia (15th to the first half of the 16th c.) in Soviet historiography," 11: 137-45.

[6] L. V. Olijnyk, "The revolutionary events of 1848 in the Ukraine as reflected in Soviet historiography," 2: 52-58.

[7] P. M. Denysovec', "Soviet historiography of revolutionary agrarian reorganizations in the Ukraine from 1917 to 1920," 10: 143-48.

[8] K. I. Poznjakov, "The historiography of questions about the rear guard of the Red Army during the Civil War," 3: 140-42.

[9] H. V. Strel's'kyj, "The January uprising of the Kiev working class against the Central Rada (1918) in the memoirs of participants," 2: 135-38.

[10] D. D. Danyljuk, M. V. Trojan, "Soviet historiography about the influence of Great October on the development of the revolutionary struggle in Transcarpathia, 1917-1919," 3: 132-40.

[11] V. H. Sarbej, "Historical topics in *Iskra*'s social-democratic press in the Ukraine on the eve of the 11th Congress of the RSDWP [in 1922]," 7: 143-47.

[12] I. L. Šerman, "The creation of the [Soviet] Ukrainian state in the historiography of the Ukrainian SSR," 1: 126-31.

[13] Ju. V. Babko, "The state and objectives of the study of the topic 'The development of labor productivity among the Ukrainian SSR's working class during the second five-year-plan,'" 5: 124-31.

[14] Ju. S. Kalakura, "The historiography of the struggle of the Communist Party for the further development of industry in the Ukraine in the period of building of Communism, 1950-1970," 9: 130-39.

[15] M. K. Ivasjuta, P. I. Paster, Ju. Ju. Slyvka, "From the experience of writing the history of the cities and villages of the L'viv oblast'," 12: 79-84.

[16] Je. O. Kolesnyk, "The library of Mykola Andrijovyč Markovyč [1804-1860]," 1: 108-10.

[17] O. K. Olijnyčenko, "The creation of book depository libraries in the Ukraine from 1917 to 1920," 5: 85-88.

[18] M. Ja. Varšavčyk, "Main stages in the development of source studies about the history of the CPSU," 11: 25-36; Ju. V. Voskresens'kyj, "The elucidation of the role of factories and industrial plants in the socioeconomic development of regions," 6: 133-36.

31], Rivne [8: 131-37], and Nikopol' [11: 111-13]. The fifth recalled the Stalingrad battle of January 1943 [7: 130-42]; and the sixth, the voyage of the tanker "Saxalin" in 1941/42 [2: 107-12, 3: 116-23, 4: 126-33, 5: 114-20].

Four articles dealt with historical archaeology:[19] two were on the ancient period,[20] and two on Kievan Rus'.[21] Five miscellanea were devoted to the Cossack period,[22] and four articles were concerned with the second half of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[23]

The nineteenth century was covered in eleven articles, dealing variously with its intellectual history,[24] revolutionary activity,[25] economic history,[26] and social

[19] A. P. Savčuk, "Summarizing studies about primitive speech in the Kiev region," 6: 111-15; L. S. Heras'kova, "The finds of Old Rus' [Polovcian] 'stone images' [*babas*, from ca. 7th-8th c.] in the Ukraine," 4: 159; M. M. Kučinko, "The southwestern borders of settlements of Eastern Slavs in the 9th-13th c.," 9: 98-105; M. M. Luk"-janenko, "An architectural monument—the Trinity-Elias complex [located in Černihiv, founded in 1619]," 4: 123-25.

[20] P. J. Karyškovs'kyj, "On the state organization of Olbia [the collegium of *agoranomi* in the 1st-2nd c. A.D.]," 2: 98-101; K. V. Ajvazjan, "On the earliest relations of Armenians with the Eastern Slavs," 12: 96-99.

[21] V. O. Holobuc'kyj, "Urgent problems in the history of the Ukraine during the period of feudalism and the tasks of Soviet historians," 9: 25-39; F. M. Šabul'do, "The incorporation of the Kiev principality into the Lithuanian state during the second half of the 14th c.," 6: 79-88.

[22] S. A. Lypko, "On the history of the founding of the town of Ostropol' [in Volhynia in 1576]," 3: 112-15; A. Z. Baraboj, "Which 'prophecy' is mentioned in Xmel'nyc'-kyj's letter [of 8 February 1649] to the Russian government?" 12: 146-48; V. A. Djady-čenko, "Once again about Peter [I] and the Ukraine," 1: 159-60; I. O. Xioni, "Concerning the economic activities of the Boh Cossacks during the 18th c.," 2: 77-81; V. V. Hrabovec'kyj, "From the history of the joint antifeudal struggle of the Ukraine and Moldavia in the 16th-18th c.," 7: 59-61.

[23] P. H. Kozlovs'kyj, "The common features [in economy and trade] in the evolution of the magnate patrimonies of Belorussia and the Right-Bank Ukraine in the second half of the 18th c.," 3: 23-32; I. H. Rozner, "On the bicentennial of the beginning of O. Pugačev's insurrection," 9: 63-74; B. M. Orlovs'kyj, "The state's metallurgical manufactories of the south and their ore resources [second half of the 18th c.-middle of the 19th c.]," 6: 105-111; T. B. Balabuševyč, "Flux of prices in Eastern Galicia in the middle of the 17th c.," 5: 95-99.

[24] L. H. Ljašenko, "From the activity of the Kiev Slavonic Society in the sixties and seventies of the 19th c.," 8: 46-50; O. M. Kovalenko, "The social-political views of the [progressive society called] *peredvyžnyky* [founded in 1870]," 10: 124-29; V. T. Krjukov, "The case of the sixty-nine [members of the "People's Will," in 1883]," 4: 71-79.

[25] M. N. Leščenko, "The heightening of the class struggle in the Ukrainian villages in 1848," 2: 45-52; F. I. Steblij, "The peasant movement in Eastern Galicia during the revolution of 1848-1849," 6: 28-38; I. Ja. Mirošnikov, P. T. Mirošnikova, "The flyers of the revolutionary social-democratic organizations of Xarkiv about the status of workers, end of the 19th-beginning of the 20th c.," 5: 71-76; M. O. Skrypnyk, "To the 75th anniversary of the creation of the Odessa committee of the RSDWP [on 28 November 1898]," 12: 114-15.

[26] L. H. Mel'nyk, "The rise and development of capitalist industry in the Ukraine in the sixties-seventies of the 19th c.," 8: 111-14; I. P. Hrycenko, "The trade relations of Northern Bukovyna with the Russian state during the first half of the 19th c.," 1: 96-103; M. H. Kukurudzjak, "When did guilds cease to exist in Northern Bukovyna?" 2: 160.

history.[27] The six articles dealing with the period 1900-1917 were devoted to economic and social problems,[28] or revolutionary activity.[29] Thirteen articles were concerned with the Ukrainian Revolution in 1917-20 and the Bolshevik takeover.[30]

The majority of articles were devoted to either the history of the Communist Party of the Ukraine or the history of the Ukrainian SSR. Some thirty articles dealt with various aspects of party history: three with the pre-1917 period,[31] two with the Revolution,[32] six with the period 1926-41,[33] one with the Second World War,[34] and the remaining eighteen with the postwar period.[35] Three

[27] O. V. Kuročkin, "The historical foundation of the populist novels by T. S. Nečuj-Levyc'kyj," 3: 85-93; Ja. S. Honihsman, "The social structure of the West Ukrainian working population during the epoch of imperialism [until 1939]," 8: 67-73.

[28] N. L. Proskura, "The immigration of peasants from the Xarkiv gubernia [to Siberia] during the Stolypin agrarian reform [in 1908-1912]" 6: 98-105; Ju. I. Patlažan, "Workers of foreign countries of the East [Persian, Chinese and Korean imported workers, Turkish prisoners of war] in the Ukraine on the eve of Great October," 4: 104-110; V. A. Kud', "The socioeconomic preconditions of the peasant movement in Volhynia in the years 1907-1917," 7: 77-84; B. M. Botušans'kyj, "The situation of the agricultural workers of Northern Bukovyna at the beginning of the 20th c.," 5: 89-94.

[29] O. M. Kolomijec', "Anticlerical outbreaks among the peasants of the Right-Bank Ukraine, 1900-1904," 11: 108-115; P. L. Verhatjuk, "About the elucidation of the revolutionary struggle of the miners of the Kryvyj Rih region in October-December 1905," 4: 114-17.

[30] S. P. Lytvynenko, "From the history of the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry of the Poltava area in the period of the preparation for Great October," 11: 89-96; I. I. Pečerycja, "About some forms of work by the Bolsheviks for the strengthening of alliance of workers and peasants in the Ukraine in 1917," 4: 100-104; N. O. Tkačov, "From the history of the creation and activity of organs of Soviet foreign policy, 1917-1922," 10: 95-99; S. P. Korotkov, "On the training of military personnel in the first years of Soviet rule," 8: 59-67; I. V. Xmil', "Formation of Bolshevik organizations, cells and groups in the Ukrainian villages, March 1917-March 1918," 11: 57-65; L. Je. Deščyns'kyj, "From the history of the struggle of the Bolsheviks of Volhynia for the masses (April-July 1917)," 3: 80-85; S. D. Helej, "Struggle of the working people of the Ukraine for the Bolsheviks' economic platform, August-October 1917," 5: 22-30; I. V. Xmil', "The Ukrainian peasantry in the struggle for control of the soviets, October 1917-March 1918," 2: 66-77; M. V. Kordon, "The division of land in the south of the Ukraine by the soviets of peasants' deputies, from January to March 1918," 6: 91-98; V. I. Ponedil'ko, "On the struggle of the Communist Party for bread in 1918," 11: 52-56; M. M. Kononenko, "Material provision of the Red Army units in the Ukraine, November 1918-June 1919," 5: 52-61; L. P. Stepanova, "The Ukrainian branch of the Petrograd committee of the RCP(b), December 1917-April 1919," 2: 35-37; N. O. Tkačova, "From the history of the creation and activity of organs of Soviet foreign policy, 1917-1922," 10: 95-99.

[31] H. M. Zobnina, "V. I. Lenin's struggle against revisionism and opportunism on the eve of the Second Congress of the RSDWP [in 1902]," 7: 22-23; P. M. Šmorhun, P. L. Varhatjuk, "The *Iskra* organizations in the Ukraine on the eve of the Second Congress of the RSDRP [in 1902]," 7: 34-44; V. I. Bilousov, V. Ju. Mel'nyčenko, "From the history of the party-card [in 1917]," 2: 59-66.

[32] A. O. Molodcova, "Activities of the Bolshevik organizations of the Ukraine in the international education of the workingman, 1918-1920," 3: 45-56; M. P. Bondarenko, "The Party leadership of the activity of military commissars from 1918-1921," 11: 105-108.

[33] 4: 46-54; 5: 81-84; 8: 107-111; 11: 15-24; 11: 42-52; 11: 102-104.

[34] 6: 64-69.

[35] 1: 3-12; 1: 39-48; 1: 88-93; 2: 3-12; 2: 89-93; 4: 15-24; 5: 62-66; 5: 76-81; 8: 71-59; 8: 81-85; 8: 86-93; 8: 98-102; 10: 92-94; 10: 99-106; 10: 106-110; 11: 92-97.

articles discussed the Komsomol.[36] The Communist Party of the Western Ukraine was the subject of five articles.[37]

Of the forty-six articles dealing with the history of the Ukrainian SSR, ten concentrated on the period 1917-40,[38] two were concerned with the Western territories "liberated" in 1939-41,[39] ten investigated events of the Second World War,[40] four discussed postwar reconstruction,[41] and twenty dealt with various aspects of contemporary history.[42]

Three articles were devoted to the history of the West Ukrainian territories in the interwar and war periods.[43]

Church history was represented by three anti-religious articles dealing with the twentieth century.[44]

[36] 8: 103-106; 10: 110-13; 11: 102-104.

[37] M. B. Jevtux, "The policy of the CPWU on the problem of education and upbringing of youth, 1919-1938," 7: 68-76; A. S. Šyndler, V. A. Šyndler, "The struggle of the CPWU against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and Zionism, 1921-1939," 7: 61-67; Ja. S. Ljal'ka, "The struggle of the West Ukrainian workingmen for a united front against the threat of fascism and war, 1933-1935," 9: 55-63; B. A. Steblyč, "The international solidarity of the workingmen of the Western Ukraine with the anti-fascist movement in the capitalist countries, 1933-1935," 3: 36-44; N. A. Pol'ova, "The propagating of the Soviet constitution [of 1936] by the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine," 1: 80-84.

[38] L. M. Hordijenko, "On the liquidation of unemployment in the Ukrainian SSR, 1921-1930," 9: 92-97; V. M. Altujev, "The participation of the *milicija* of the Ukraine in the struggle with banditry in 1921-1925," 10: 119-24; O. H. Ščehlenko, "The international ties of the sailors of the Black and the Azov Sea fleet with the working people of foreign countries, 1921-1925," 10: 74-82; T. D. Jonkina, "The Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets [10-15 December 1922, in Xarkiv]," 1: 62-70; Je. F. Bezrodnyj, "The international connections of the Ukrainian airlines, 1923-1930 [with Europe, Asia and America]," 3: 123-25; A. A. Dabiža, "The increase in the importance of the village soviets in 1928-1929," 10: 92-94; Z. H. Lyxolobova, "Growth and unification of the working ranks of the Donbas in the years of the second five-year plan," 12: 16-27; I. H. Černenko, "The working class of the Ukraine in its struggle for the strengthening of the collective farm system during the duration of the second five-year plan," 11: 37-42; D. A. Pučko, "The creative activity of rationalizers and inventors in the machine tool industry of the Ukraine during the years of the prewar five-year plans," 1: 93-95; K. I. Bojna, "The activity of party organizers of the Ukraine in the expansion of large-scale defense work among women in the prewar years," 3: 100-105.

[39] V. O. Syjčuk, "The productivity of the workers of Soviet Bukovyna, 1940-1941," 11: 97-101; T. I. Myxajljuta, M. M. Tjurenkov, "About the first socialist transformations in the Rivne region, 1939-41," 3: 105-109.

[40] 2: 126-29; 5: 15-21; 5: 39-46; 6: 59-64; 6: 119-23; 6: 123-27; 10: 31-41; 10: 41-46; 10: 46-51; 12: 3-15.

[41] 6: 47-54; 6: 55-59; 10: 51-59; 12: 105-110.

[42] 1: 25-32; 1: 32-39; 2: 13-25; 2: 82-89; 3: 33-36; 3: 64-71; 3: 72-79; 4: 91-95; 7: 45-55; 7: 93-95; 7: 95-101; 8: 25-29; 8: 93-98; 9: 50-55; 10: 60-69; 11: 66-74; 11: 84-89; 11: 135-36; 12: 61-68; 12: 68-72.

[43] P. A. Borkovs'kyj, "The creation and education by party organizations in the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR of the activist masses of the workers, 1940-1950," 4: 96-100; Je. P. Horodec'kyj, "The revolutionary struggle of the working people of Northern Bukovyna in 1920-1930," 10: 113-19; Z. A. Paškuj', "Concerning the question of the autonomy of Transcarpathia during the Hungarian occupation [1939-1944]," 2: 93-98.

[44] A. A. Strilko, "From the history of the activity of ecclesiastics among Ukrainian immigrants in Latin America at the end of the 19th and early 20th c.," 7: 105-110;

One article was devoted to the activity of the Belgian émigré Jaroslav Doboš in January 1972.[45]

Fourteen articles dealt with the Ukraine's relations with its neighbors. Those with Moldavia, past[46] and present,[47] were discussed, as were those with Bulgaria,[48] Czechoslovakia,[49] Azerbaijan,[50] Georgia,[51] Uzbekistan,[52] and Tuva.[53] The Ukraine's role in training national cadres for developing countries was one topic.[54] World history was treated only marginally: L. S. Čikolini dealt with *La città felice* of the political utopianist Frencesco Patrici (1529-97) [11: 115-20]; two articles discussed the Bulgarian "anti-fascist" September Revolt of 1923 [Cenko Grigorov, 9: 74-81; Jono Mitev, 9: 81-87].

All other articles were devoted to contemporary political and economic problems: the tactics of the communist parties of Western Europe in the New Left movements in France, West Germany, and the United States [O. O. Šyšov, 6: 39-46]; an elaboration of the present agrarian and peasant problem as viewed by the French Communist Party [V. M. Hors'kyj, 7: 84-92]; the British government and British monopolies in the postwar years [V. O. Horbyk, 8: 73-80]; the struggle of the English working class in 1971-72 [M. P. Malašonok, 10: 82-88]; the liberation struggle in Northern Ireland in 1970-72 [V. O. Horbyk, 1: 70-75]; the socioeconomic aspects of the racial problems in the United States [I. F. Čerepanov, 5: 31-38]; the disintegration of imperialism's colonial system

V. V. Dobrecova, L. P. Majans'ka, "Concerning the reactionary ideological and political alliance of the Uniate Church and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism [1917-1939]," 6: 70-79; K. Je. Dmytruk, "The Uniate church in the service of reaction [the activity of J. Slipyj]," 12: 28-39.

45 V. P. Čerednyčenko, "Anti-sovietism as the main trend in the activities of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," 3: 12-22.

46 V. V. Hrabovec'kyj, "From the history of the combined anti-feudal struggle of the peasants of the Ukraine and Moldavia in the 16th-18th c.," 7: 59-61.

47 V. H. Lysenko, "The cooperation of the Ukrainian and Moldavian working peoples in the struggle for Soviet rule," 8: 37-45; M. H. Myndresku, "Collaboration of the Ukrainian and Moldavian peoples in the field of culture, 1924-1940," 7: 56-59; V. H. Lysenko, "On Ukrainian-Moldavian scholarly ties [conference held in Kiev, July 1973]," 10: 156-57.

48 A. K. Martynenko, "[Tsarist] Russian-Bulgarian economic relations in 1910-1915," 4: 79-90; V. V. Kravčenko, "The movement to solidarity of the Ukrainian people with the revolutionary struggle of Bulgarian working people in the twenties and thirties," 2: 37-44; V. V. Kravčenko, H. Slavov, "Solidarity of the working people of the Ukrainian SSR with the September revolt [1923] in Bulgaria," 9: 87-91; V. V. Bojko, "Soviet [Ukrainian-]Bulgarian cultural ties, 1944-1948," 8: 29-37; M. V. Znamens'ka, "On the 15th anniversary of the Ukrainian branch of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society [established in 1958]," 12: 115-18.

49 O. V. Xlanta, "D. Z. Manujil's'kyj's ties with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," 9: 125-29.

50 I. F. Džebrailov, "Socialist competition between the Donbas miners and the Baku oil-industry workers in 1939-1941," 12: 73-78.

51 K. S. Kakov, "Traditional competition and friendship between two collective farms [one Ukrainian and the other Georgian, from 1938]," 1: 76-79.

52 P. H. Bilec'kyj, V. F. Panibud'laska, "The contribution of the working people of the Ukraine to the reconstruction of Tashkent, 1966-1969," 1: 55-62.

53 O. M. Kolomyjec', "From the history of Ukrainian-Tuvinian relations [from the Ukrainian peasant colonization in 1889 up to 1972]," 4: 60-71.

54 K. A. Kolosova, "The training of national cadres for foreign countries in educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR," 1: 48-55.

as interpreted by American "bourgeois" historiography [V. I. Vyhovs'kyj, 3: 93-99]; centers for African studies in the United States [A. A. Ozadovs'kyj, 12: 40-49]; American historians and publicists on America's policy toward Europe after the Second World War [S. J. Appatov, 8: 138-43].

The *UIŽ* chronicle published information on the following events: the All-Union conference on Lenin's nationality policy [Kiev, 21-23 November 1972; 1: 144-46]; the conference of Carpathian scholars [Užhorod, 3-5 October 1972; 1: 154-55]; the republican conference on Skovoroda [Xarkiv, October 1972; 1: 155-56]; conferences on Bukovyna [Černivci, 17-18 November 1972, 2: 153; 12 February 1973, 4: 155-56]; the general meeting of the Division of Economics, History, Philosophy, and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR [Kiev, 12 March 1973; 5: 148-50]; the plenum of the Republican Coordinating Council concerning the history of the CPSU and the Communist Party of the Ukraine [Kiev, 1 March 1973; 5: 153-54]; the meeting of the Learned Council of the Institute of History of the Academy of the Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, devoted to the "Natural historical development of the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR before the Revolution of 1917" [5: 154-55]; the seminar on the archives of the regional party organizations in the Ukraine [Kiev, March-April 1973; 7: 158]; the International Congress of Archivists [Moscow, 22-25 August 1972; 1: 146-50]; the Fifth Republican Conference of Historian-Archivists [Kiev, 10 November 1972; 2: 154-55]; the archivists' seminar in L'viv [27 March 1973; 6: 150].

Information on museums and historical monuments was contained in articles on the Lenin museum in Svaljava, Transcarpathia, founded in 1970 [12: 144]; the Museum of Regional Studies in the village of Bilokrynycja, Volhynia [3: 157-58]; the founding of the Skovoroda Museum in Kiev [December 1972; 4: 158-59]; the S. A. Kovpak Museum, honoring the partisan leader, in the Hluxiv Technicum [6: 151-53]. Also presented were data on the preservation of historical monuments during the Second World War [5: 107-13], and on the founding of the town of Ostropol', Volhynia, in 1576 [3: 112-15].

The chronicle contained information on historical works to be published by "Naukova dumka" in 1973 [1: 156-57], and on the publications in history planned by "Politvydav Ukrajiny" and "Naukova dumka" for 1974 [1: 142-44]. Discussions were devoted to the contents of the journal [9: 153-55] and to the planned multivolume *History of the Ukrainian SSR* [11: 156-57].

Included were a few notices of meetings with foreign scholars: Knud Schmidt and Olaf Olsen from the University of Aarhus [Denmark, 29 June 1973; 9: 156], Pavel Kostov of the University of Sophia [Bulgaria, 31 August 1973; 11: 158], and John Campbell of the Council of Foreign Relations [New York, 12: 141].

Each issue contained several reviews. The most noteworthy of these were: A. Katrenko's review of *Narodničestvo v rabotax sovetskix issledovatelej* [Moscow, 1971; 6: 144-46]; M. F. Kotljar's of *Kataloh perhamentnyx dokumentiv* [L'viv, 1972; 5: 142-44]; V. I. Strel's'kyj's of A. Sancevyč, *Džereloznavstvo z istoriji URSR* [Kiev, 1972; 4: 153-54]; P. M. Šmorhun's of V. H. Sarbej, *V. I. Lenin i dožovtneva spadščyna istoriohrafiji Ukrajiny* [Kiev, 1972; 3: 145-48]; T. Ju. Salyha's of V. A. Malančuk, *Etnografična dijal'nist' V. Ju. Oxrymovyča* [Kiev, 1972; 2: 144-45]; Je. M. Kosačevs'ka's of T. Bajcura, *Zakarpato-ukrainskaja intelligen-*

cija v pervoj polovine XIX v. [Prešov, 1971; 2: 145-47]; M.M. Kravec's of P.V. Mixajlova, *Mista Ukrajiny v period feodalizmu* [Černivci, 1971; 1: 136-37]; M.F. Kotljar's of M. Kycenko, *Xortycja v heroici i lehendax*, 2nd ed. [Dnipropetrovs'k, 1972; 1: 139-40]; D.I. Myško's of *Deržavni arxivy URSR* [Kiev, 1972; 9: 146-47]; V.A. Smolij's of L.A. Kovalenko, *Velyka francuz'ka revolucija i hromads'ko-polityčnyj rux na Ukrajini* [Kiev, 1973; 11: 152]; Ja.P. Kis', V.V. Mavrodin and Je.M. Kosačevs'ka's of Maurycy Horn, *Walka klasowa i konflikty społeczne w miastach Rusi Czerwonej w latach 1600-1647* [Wrocław, 1972; 12: 136-38].

Noteworthy—and alarming—are the journal's data on Ph.D. and candidate dissertations. The authors of all ten Ph.D. dissertations mentioned dealt with post-revolutionary topics: L.D. Aleksejev [6: 154], M.D. Juščenko [3: 159], M.F. Karpenko [10: 157], N.Ju. Kostrycja [2: 158-59], I.Ja. Košarnyj [3: 158-59], O.O. Kučer [8: 159], Ju.O. Kurnosov [7: 159], V.O. Romancov [2: 158], P.S. Soxan [6: 154] and V.I. Kudanyč [5: 157]. Two lists of approved candidate theses were published: one gave fifty-six topics [6: 156-58], and the other, forty-one topics [10: 158-59]. Only two theses dealt with the period 1905 to 1912; all others dealt with 1917 and the post-revolutionary period, particularly the 1950s to 1970s. Not one thesis dealt with the nineteenth century, let alone the Cossack or the Princely Rus' periods.

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